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The Bancroft Library University of California/Berkeley
 Regional Oral History Office

Harry L. Kingman
CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRACY

With an Introduction by
Lucile and Daniel E. Koshland

An Interview Conducted by
Rosemary Levenson





Harry Kingman
1973

Photograph by Audrey Wallace

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Kingmans' interview was made possible by the generosity of a small group of Harry and Ruth Kingman's devoted friends and admirers who wished the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library to document, in lasting form, the Kingmans' great contribution to the community of the University of California, to American society, and to the cause of international understanding. On behalf of future researchers, the Oral History Office wishes to thank the following people for their generous donations:

Mr. & Mrs. Milton Chernin
 Mr. & Mrs. Richard E. Erickson
 Mr. & Mrs. Walter S. Frederick
 Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas
 Mr. & Mrs. Walter A. Haas
 Mr. & Mrs. Walter A. Haas, Jr.
 C. Nelson Hackett
 Clarence E. Heller
 George H. Hogle, M.D.

Lois Crozier Hogle
 Abner Kingman, Jr.
 Mr. & Mrs. Daniel E. Koshland
 Mr. & Mrs. Ferdinand Kuhn
 Mr. & Mrs. Stanley E. McCaffrey
 Agnes C. Robinson
 Glen K. Slaughter
 Mr. & Mrs. Mas Yonemura

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape-record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in recent California history. The Office is under the administrative supervision of Professor James D. Hart, the Director of The Bancroft Library.

Willa K. Baum
 Department Head
 Regional Oral History Office

12 June 1973
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 University of California at Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

When Confucius was asked what constitutes wisdom, he replied: "To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men." The two words--"give" and "men"--bring to our minds two special people, Ruth and Harry Kingman. We consider it an honor to have been asked to write a foreword to their Oral History. We have treasured their friendship for many years. They exemplify what Confucius said. Invariably, they give of themselves, and not just to an abstract ideal or a cause but, above all, to men and women.

Without fanfare, but unceasingly and serenely, they have dedicated themselves to work that has improved the lives of thousands of people. For example:

- During Harry's years as head of Stiles Hall, his courageous support of free speech and equal opportunity for all broadened the scope of the civil rights movement throughout our land, and received the highest recognition.
- After World War II, the fight that Ruth waged for fair play helped countless Japanese-Americans to regain their constitutional rights.
- Then came the long crusade in Washington, D.C., when they were in fact The Citizens Committee for Freedom and Fair Play. They inspired and coordinated individuals and groups and advanced immeasurably the cause of human decency for all Americans.

These are but a few of their selfless acts in service for all mankind. Ruth and Harry are two of a kind. They think and act with courage, courtesy and compassion. For all that they have done and, even more, for all that they are, we honor them and we love them.

Lucile and Daniel Koshland

9 April 1973
119 Reservoir Road
Hillsborough, California

INTERVIEW HISTORY

Harry and Ruth Kingman have been influential in the Berkeley University community for more than half a century, primarily through Harry's work at Stiles Hall. After his retirement as General Secretary in 1957, the Kingmans began a second major career when they moved to Washington to set up the Citizens' Lobby.

Harry's association with Stiles Hall, the University off-campus Young Mens' Christian Association, began in 1916 when he received a telegram inviting him to join the staff as Freshman Secretary. His career as a pitcher with the New York Yankees was not completely satisfactory, and he notes [p 20] that it took him only about twenty-four hours to decide to take the job. His work at Stiles was interrupted by service in the United States Army in World War I, six years in China for the International Y.M.C.A. during the twenties, and service as Director of the West Coast Fair Employment Practice Commission in World War II. During his years at Stiles, Harry worked actively for free speech, civil rights, and student participation. His professional baseball career helped him in his subsidiary University job as Frosh (freshman) baseball coach.

Ruth maintained a number of careers of her own. Besides raising a daughter and a succession of dogs, she was busy helping Harry with students--one year she cooked for over a thousand University guests. She was Executive Secretary of the war-time Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play on behalf of Japanese-Americans, held office in numerous effective citizens' groups, and coached the China women's volleyball team for the Far Eastern Olympic games. She has enriched her own and others' lives with her musical talents. She was a noted soloist in China and has contributed her conducting and directing skills wherever they were needed. A second artistic career for Ruth began in Washington where she studied painting and now has pictures hanging from coast to coast.

Immediately after Harry's "retirement" from Stiles Hall, Harry and Ruth packed up and went to Washington to fulfill a lifelong dream. They wished to prove that ordinary citizens without money or influence can significantly affect the course of government. They set up the Citizens' Lobby in their

one-room apartment and worked for thirteen years on behalf of the weak and the oppressed. They lobbied for integration, for cooperative housing, for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, for civil rights and world peace. Finding that social security and Harry's pension could not cover their modest expenses, they relied on contributions from many of the same people who have combined again to fund this interview. In 1970, for reasons of health, the Kingmans moved back to Berkeley and now conduct a less strenuous lobbying program from their home.

For many years, the names of Ruth and Harry Kingman had been prominent on the list of prospective memoirists for the Regional Oral History Office. These names are suggested by numerous faculty members, alumni, and longtime members of the University community who advise this office. But then the Kingmans were away in Washington, and by the time of their return to Berkeley, the office had entered a period when all interviews require extramural funding. It was therefore a most welcome call that came on January 28, 1971 from Walter Frederick asking if the office would undertake an oral history memoir with Mr. and Mrs. Harry Kingman if funds could be raised, a project he, with the strong support of Daniel E. Koshland, was eager to push. A few months later, Mr. Frederick called again to say the funds were coming in through the Alumni Foundation and the interview could get underway.

Research and Planning:

The interview process was formally initiated by a letter sent to Mr. Kingman on May 10th, 1971. The interviewer had already met Mr. Kingman while interviewing his wife, Ruth, for her contribution to fair play for Japanese-Americans during World War II as part of the Earl Warren Oral History Project. Research started immediately, and was much helped by the Kingmans' good filing habits and ability to retrieve books and manuscripts with a celerity only matched by their little dog Buttons' prowess with a ball or cracker. An overall plan for the memoir was drawn up and given to Mr. Kingman for his additions and revisions. Subsequently, I would prepare an agenda for each taping session, sending it a week or so ahead for Mr. Kingman's approval and revisions.

Times and Settings of the Interviews:

We held nine taping sessions of approximately two hours, irregularly spaced between June 14th, 1971 and March 27th, 1972. The interviews began at ten in the morning in Harry's small office in the Kingmans' charming house in Berkeley. Harry would sit at his desk within easy reach of the filing cabinets facing the interviewer with the tape recorder between us. Ruth always had coffee and cookies ready for our break at about 11 a.m. If she were home, we would adjourn to the living room, sometimes cheered by a coal fire and always surrounded by mementoes of the Kingmans' long and varied careers, including an inscribed photograph of President Kennedy and a framed letter from Gandhi. When Ruth took part in the tapings, we sat in the living room and relived the years of the Citizens' Lobby in Washington, and the Kennedy campaign. Then as now, she and Harry were a team.

Editing and Completion of the Manuscript:

Transcription of the tapes was completed by the middle of April, 1972. The manuscript, edited by the interviewer, was arranged into chapters with subheadings, sent to the Kingmans at the end of June, and returned to our office in late November. (The Kingmans' attention to the manuscript was somewhat interrupted by the extended World Series of 1972 in which the Oakland A's were the eventual victors. Harry took a special trip to the main post office to mail a letter to the interviewer explaining and apologizing for the delay.) During the Kingmans' five-month custody of the manuscript, they put in the sort of perfectionist polishing of the memoir which is a hallmark of the Kingman style. This editorial revision culminated in a marathon physical effort. In order to be sure that an informal conversational tone had survived scissors, stapler, and red pencil, Ruth read the whole manuscript aloud to Harry in three sessions, one lasting over five hours. She told me that breath control,

learned as a singer, enabled her to do this without strain.

During the time the manuscript was at the final typist's, Harry continued to add small items which were inserted into the memoir. The Kingmans and I had some informal sessions to select illustrations as well as material for the appendices from their vast collection.

Daniel and Lucile Koshland, long-time friends of the Kingmans and contributors to the Citizens' Lobby, were asked to write the introduction, which they willingly agreed to do.

A half-hour video tape of the Kingmans was made with the help of Paul Rush and the University Television Office staff. Filmed in the patio of their home with Ruth's greenhouse studio in the background, the conversation covered the Citizens' Lobby and the Kennedy campaign. The video tape is available through The Bancroft Library where the Kingmans' extensive papers will also be deposited for the use of the researchers.

Needless to say, after nearly two and a half years of close association with the Kingmans, I feel deep friendship and admiration for them. If we all had time, the end of each interview or planning session would be celebrated with a dollop of afternoon sherry and a game with Buttons. As soon as the decanter was produced and Harry had arranged himself in his chair with a pillow on his chest, Buttons would leap up and retrieve the cracker which Harry had hidden in readiness in his shirt pocket. After that, we would settle down to talk about politics, baseball, children and grandchildren, or whatever in this wide world the Kingmans and I were currently busy with. I am sure that Harry and Ruth have always had time for friends, drinks, and pleasures along with the work of their various worlds.

Rosemary Levenson
Interviewer

17 May 1973
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

I EARLY YEARS

Preamble

RL: We are thinking of this memoir with you as a story largely involving citizenship in a democracy. But first, we want to start off with your early background.

Kingman: Rosemary, my wife Ruth and I are glad that we drew you as interviewer; it should be fun. It was one of your famous countrymen, Winston Churchill who remarked that a democracy is the worst form of government there is--except all the others.

Ruth enjoyed taping with you her experiences as executive secretary of the wartime Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play*; she was working in behalf of justice and return to their West Coast homes of loyal Japanese-Americans who had been federally evacuated and cooped-up in so-called relocation centers.

RL: When we reach the subject of the Kingman 1957-1970 lobbying project in Washington, D.C., I want to bring her in on a three-way conversation since we didn't cover any of those activities in the Warren Era study.

Kingman: Good idea. As an old guy of eighty I've been browsing

*Ruth W. Kingman, "The Fair Play Committee and Citizen Participation," in the volume "The Japanese-American Relocation," of the Earl Warren Oral History Project, Regional Oral History Office.

Kingman: through part of my voluminous sixty-year-old files, and I admit that I approach the taping task ahead with some diffidence and trepidation. I've always considered myself pretty much as just sort of an ordinary, slightly-egotistical character who had been tremendously lucky to have had loving and inspiring parents, a wonderful wife, a lovely daughter and winsome grandchildren, good health, just enough money to eat regularly and to own a small home; and somehow or other enough sense to bet my life early in the game on the hypothesis that there is a divine spirit in the universe which is on the side of love, truth, courage--a God with whom it is possible for a mortal sometimes to commune.

Some of the matters I suppose we'll take up will include the many years of work with students at Stiles Hall, the agency about which the wonderful Dr. Galen M. Fisher wrote the book Stiles Hall--Citadel of Democracy;^{*} the six years working with students in China, 1921-27, where I got into trouble due to my sympathy for young patriots who were determined to aid their country in ridding itself of the Unequal Treaties still being exploited by foreign powers; my term in 1943-45 as West Coast director of the wartime Fair Employment Practice Commission created to break the unfair racial barriers which seriously hampered employment of non-whites; our thirteen exciting years, after retirement from Stiles Hall, as lobbyists in Washington, D.C., in behalf of less-advantaged Americans; our five unforgettable months in 1960 as members of Jack Kennedy's campaign team in his narrow win against Richard Nixon for the presidency; something about athletic play and coaching; individuals who helpfully influenced my life, motivation for what makes me tick, okay?

RL: Fine!

Kingman: And Rosemary, I imagine that you want me to be frank and personal; feel free to ask me anything you want as we proceed.

^{*}Galen M. Fisher, Stiles Hall--Citadel of Democracy. Berkeley, Calif., 1955.

RL: I'm pleased that you said that. You've had so many varied and interesting experiences during your life: I'll probably ask you questions at times that seem somewhat unusual or even a little presumptuous.

Kingman: Good. If I have to waffle at any time I shan't hold it against you!

Family Background in China

RL: How many generations does your relationship with China go back?

Kingman: Well, it was in 1860, as I recall, that change in the treaties between China and foreign powers permitted non-Chinese to enter North China. My grandfather, Jonathan Lees of the London Missionary Society--he turned out to be an illustrious and respected person--sailed with his wife from south England to Tientsin. They served there and in Peking for many years.

My mother was born--let's see--in 1862 in Tientsin. I later used to hear it said that she was the first white child born in North China.

RL: What denomination was your grandfather?

Kingman: He was--in this country he would have been called Congregationalist. It was a relatively non-dogmatic religious background from which he came--as was also true in my own case. He was far less conservative, so to speak, than were many of his missionary successors.

My Bostonian father, later, in 1888, went to North China under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, which was also Congregational. He became a professor in a college in Tungchow, south of Peking. He married Annie Lees, my mother; a lovely person as you can see in that picture of her over there on my wall. That was in 1890. I was born in Tientsin a couple of years later. You asked how many generations of our family lived in China. Well,

Kingman: our daughter Beverly was born in Shanghai in 1924 so I guess the answer is four. So far as North China is concerned, at least, I doubt whether any other white family goes back that far.

RL: No--not to my knowledge certainly. So you came from English and American stock. What about your background in America?

Kingman: I've never given much thought to genealogical studies but it happens that the Kingman family goes back quite a way. There's a study of it over on the shelf which was published in Boston in 1910.

RL: I would like to look at it. I really would.

Kingman: Just briefly I'll answer your question. The study goes back to Henry Kingman who arrived at Weymouth, Massachusetts--near Boston--from England in 1623. My own father, a much later Henry Kingman, was born in Boston, one of three brothers. The eldest moved to Montreal, Canada, as a young man and did extremely well financially. His second, younger brother became a distinguished physician in Boston; in the summers he would go up to Labrador to work with the famous humanitarian, Dr. Wilfred Grenfell.

My father, the third brother, intended to become a lawyer but developed the urge to become a missionary in China. After about eleven or twelve years there his health broke. Fortunately for us he had a home furlough coming up in 1899. We reached California just before the Boxer Uprising broke out in North China. Before leaving I remember, as a kid of seven, watching Chinese soldiers marching past our wall-surrounded college compound where my father taught. A number of the students and faculty were killed there later.

*Bradford Kingman, Some Early Generations of the Kingman Family (David Clapp & Son, Boston), 1912.

General Feng Yü-shiang

Kingman: This is pushing it, this is getting ahead of the story but the famous general, Feng Yü-shiang, was one of the soldiers who participated in the attack on this missionary college, although he was apparently just an onlooker. He was so impressed with the courage of both faculty and students there and their loyalty to their beliefs that later he became a Christian himself. He was, you know, later called "the Christian General." Foreign military people said that his Army (this was a time when you would speak of the Army of this general and that general, a lot of them fighting each other) that his military group was the best that had developed since relationships between foreign military bodies and Chinese -- That the Christian general not only got many of his troops to become Christians but also made them very good soldiers.

RL: How much do you attribute that to his beliefs and how much to his innate abilities?

Kingman: Well, I would say the latter! I wrote an article on him. I don't know if you saw that?

RL: No, I didn't.

Kingman: Yes, I wrote an article on General Feng. He was quite a person in a constructive and helpful way in the latter part of his life.

Youth in China

RL: How many were there in your family?

Kingman: I had a sister who is still living and a brother who died quite a few years ago.

RL: All born in China?

Kingman: My sister--let's see--my sister was born in this

Kingman: country, when my father was here, and my brother was born in China.

RL: What do you remember of those early years, of being a white child, a missionary's son in China?

Kingman: Well, I remember--I was about seven or eight when I left. Of course I could speak quite a bit of Chinese.

RL: That would be Mandarin, wouldn't it?

Kingman: Yes. It was just a small college, just two or three hundred students, I guess. Nice buildings surrounded by the big wall. I can remember getting into snow-ball fights along with some of the students. I can remember things like riding on a camel and as I mentioned I can still remember seeing those soldiers marching by just before we left the last time.

RL: Did you have your own amah?

Kingman: Sure. There used to be lots of servants.

RL: Sometimes people have told me that almost their closest and warmest memory is of their amah in China. I wonder if you felt that way?

Kingman: Oh yes, and also when Ruth and I were in China in the '20's, we had a couple of servants, a man and his wife and they became part of the family. We loved them; they loved us. Then I got pushed out of Shanghai and went to Tientsin, and lived in a big YMCA-owned house. I guess we had three or four servants. Ruth was wonderful getting along with them. But all kinds of problems used to develop. At one time Ruth tried managing with one servant, I think, something like that. That didn't work too well.

RL: When you were a child, did you eat Western style or did you have Chinese food?

Kingman: Pretty much Western style, I think.

RL: What schooling did you have in China?

Kingman: Well, I don't remember that I had any--that I was in any school because we left in '99 and I was in the first grade in Claremont, California.

Growing up in America

Kingman: My father became pastor of the college church in Claremont, where Pomona College is. So I went to a school from the first grade through the grade schools, then to Pomona Preparatory School and then through Pomona College--all in Claremont; except for a time in prep school when I wasn't doing well in my studies. I wasn't doing well in anything and my folks thought it best to send me to a school in Los Angeles--Harvard Military School, which was reputed to be a very high-class academy but turned out to be attended mostly by kids that had been kicked out of other schools and whose parents couldn't handle them--I got thrown out of there, too. I mean I got fired from Harvard!

RL: What did you get fired for?

Kingman: Well, it was a series of things, I guess. It was a very strict school run on military discipline and I had friends there that were kind of rebellious and we would get stuck for doing little things. I remember the only time that I could get away from school during the week would be to go to church downtown. So I used to get out for a couple of hours Sunday morning in order to go to church and I'd go down to one of the major pool and billiard rooms on Broadway in Los Angeles. The school authorities got wind of that finally and I got heck.

Then, the next thing I remember which I didn't think that they should have kicked me out for was I got in a fight with one of the boys, one of my friends, and we were plugging away at each other and this was just the final thing, I guess, that caused me to be thrown out.

My friend was a kid named Percy Hussong. His father--he was Mexican--had the biggest saloon in

Kingman: Ensenada, Mexico. Just after I finished my work during World War II, when I was West Coast Director of the Fair Employment Practice Commission, wartime FEPC, I and a couple of my staff members just for fun went down to Ensenada. We spent some time in Percy's saloon.

RL: Do you know what you were fighting about?

Kingman: No. I don't think it was anything. Just all of a sudden we were fighting.

RL: Sounds normal to me!

When you came back from China, in some ways I imagine you felt quite free.

Kingman: Yes. That's true. I was in a grammar school, first to eighth grades where there were only two teachers, but they were great teachers and I admired them. If I didn't have to study I got along very well. This was true in high school and college, too. If I didn't have to study at all, I did pretty well but not well enough, of course. I was a very active kid. My major interest always was sports of some kind--baseball and other games. That was what I really liked and cared about.

RL: What did you do with your parents or the other children?

Kingman: Well, one of the things we used to do was to go on picnics in a mountain canyon a few miles away; this was before there were any motor cars available, so we would drive up in the horse-drawn carriage which we owned. We used to sing a lot around the piano as our mother played. It was a pretty simple but happy set-up for all of us.

RL: You played ball--did your sister play ball? Was she allowed to be strenuous and athletic?

Kingman: I don't remember exactly, but I think she played tennis and swam. We used to go to the beaches in the summertime. My brother, who was about seven or eight years younger than I was, was a big fellow. He went into business, and was decorated for war

Kingman: service; he died quite a few years ago.

I actually got through Pomona College without studying. I don't think I ever studied at night. Mathematics I was no good at at all and consequently I didn't graduate with my class--I have to laugh--I kept taking a math course over and over again.

RL: That's like Winston Churchill; do you remember that?

What was your major in college?

Kingman: History, and when I took a Master's Degree here at the University of California, it was in history.

RL: But you were, by your own definition and evidently by your parents' definition and Harvard Military School's definition "a bad boy."

Kingman: Well, that's what my sister said about me in an article in '64 that was published in our Pomona College alumni monthly magazine. They had a somewhat "tongue in cheek" reference to my early days--you may have seen it.

RL: I don't think I saw that one.

Kingman: Yes, she said I was quite a problem.

A Major Life Turn-About

RL: But you also said at some point--you really changed. I'd like to hear about that.

Kingman: Yes. Let's see, I've already indicated that my only real interest in life was athletics and that I didn't study. But I got to running with kind of a bad crowd and --

RL: You were shooting pool and --

Kingman: Well--most important--I couldn't quit smoking

Kingman: cigarettes and I wanted to because I was smoking so much that it was really interfering with my athletic performances. Then, the thing that made me more unhappy than that was that my wonderful mother and father were discouraged about me and unhappy. You know they even spent money to send me to military school. It didn't help. So I just wasn't getting along well and I didn't think I was going to amount to much.

Then I finally got out of high school and managed to get into college, into Pomona; I was helped by the fact that my father was a trustee of Pomona College. (I must admit that it was helpful to me that the other trustees hated to take action against me or to kick me out because of their respect for my father.)

But anyway, he wanted me to go to a student YMCA conference at Carmel. There was an annual winter conference of men students from the region. I didn't want to go but because I thought so highly of my father I said, "Well, I'll go."

RL: How old were you then?

Kingman: I was eighteen, I guess. It was in 1910, the winter of 1909-10. Yes, that would make me about eighteen.

I started going to some of the meetings at this conference but I wasn't interested. So the word got around among the leaders that I wasn't attending the meetings.

RL: What were you doing?

Kingman: Well, I was shooting pool most of the time. I was a pretty good pool player. I used to be able to run thirty-five or forty balls in straight pool.

One of the leaders was the general Secretary of Stiles Hall here at the University of California. He had been, as a young fellow, in this kind of trouble and in other kinds of trouble. So he came to me at breakfast on the last day of the conference and asked me if I'd be willing to take a walk with him and to have a talk. I did.

Kingman: We went down on the beach at Carmel and walked, oh for several hours, I guess. He was trying to persuade me to try to change my life because I just wasn't getting any place. He finally persuaded me that I should make the attempt. As I say, I was unhappy, very unhappy and didn't have any respect for myself.

At the last meeting of the conference there was an opportunity for individual students to get up and say what the conference had meant to them. He asked me if I would do that and tell the fellows what I was going to try to do. So I said all right, and then I did. It was very hard for me to do but I just stood up and said, "All you guys know I am not getting along very well and I am going to make an attempt to change. My friend who talked to me about how religion had helped him at a critical time in his life thinks it could help me too. So I am going to try to change."

That was the start. That was on January 1, 1910. Ever since then I have been working on it.

A Religious Statement

Kingman: My religion for years was quite Christocentric, that is, the person that Jesus was and his part of it was very big in leading me to believe in a spiritual power in the universe that is on the side of love and truth and courage. My religion now is less theological and less Christocentric, although Jesus is still one of my heroes and inspirers.

Prayer has been a very vital thing in my experience.

RL: Please go on.

Kingman: In praying to God it's been mostly along the lines of how can I be more loving, have more integrity, more compassion; less self-interested motives for action. That sort of prayer--and thanking God for the increasingly happy and joyous life that I have lived.

Kingman: My father had tremendous influence on me. Although he was an invalid after his China experience he lived for about twenty years longer and wrote several books. For many years of my life after he died in 1921 I would start every day with morning prayer, and reading a few lines or paragraphs from his writings. So my admiration for him was a genuine factor.

My mother was a lovely person and my desire to make her happy after he died gave me a lot of incentive to keep plugging away.

I have never felt I had any great ability. I've known so many people who had much better brain power than I ever had. But I have kept on the job. That is, I've never stopped trying to become more effective and to show my gratitude to God for the fact that I have lived such a satisfying life.

RL: When you were "a bad boy" had you lost your faith in God?

Kingman: Well, I hadn't thought about it. I hadn't lost faith in anything, no.

RL: Did you have family prayers?

Kingman: Well, some, yes, some. In China for example my father and my mother would have family prayers and Chinese friends or servants would come in too.

RL: One of the things that I've found peculiarly attractive about the sound of your father and your own mission work, if you don't mind that phrase, is that it seems to have been so undogmatic.

Kingman: I guess that's right. I've done darn little "preaching" during my life, and I admit I haven't been much of a churchman.

It is true that I haven't done very much preaching to anybody or tried to push my ideas on others. But certainly as far as I am concerned I am completely sold after sixty-two years of testing that it is quite possible that there is some reality in the universe which is on the side of the values

Kingman: that the world needs. I've based my life on that all these years and if it had been false I think it would have affected me adversely. But it hasn't.

I consider myself one of the luckiest and happiest people I've ever known. I feel it is possible for the human spirit, in some unexplained way, to commune with the divine spirit in the universe we call God. I owe much to what I have bet my life on. It's proven out for many years and has never seemed to fail me.

No human being can completely prove the reality of the concept that God exists though there are top thinkers in the realm of science who give their reasons for believing in evidences of plan and purpose in the universe. With the social organizations of man on our planet now unravelling at the rapidly mounting pace that appears to be the case, it would seem desirable that, if there might be a source of constructive help and endeavor available, we should at least test it. I'm just an ordinary human being and may be wrong, but I don't think so.

I mentioned the fact that my religious philosophy and affiliation had changed somewhat over the years. If I were asked if I were a Christian I'd probably answer that I felt part of the Judeo-Christian Fellowship--something like that. Some of the Old Testament psalms have been a particular source of inspiration to me. I recall that while with Stiles Hall in the thirties I served for several years as secretary of what was named The Conference of Christians and Jews. It met monthly in Oakland with good attendance from both the business and educational worlds to hear outstanding speakers on broad-gauge aspects of life and hope and the Good Life.



Rev. and Mrs. Jonathan Lees, Harry Kingman's maternal grandparents, Tientsin, 1898.



Henry Kingman, Harry Kingman's father.
ca. 1914.



Annie Kingman, Harry Kingman's mother, at piano. ca. 1901.



Kingman family, ca. 1914. Left to right: brother Alan,
mother, sister Edith, Harry, father.

II COLLEGE, ATHLETICS AND WORLD WAR I

College Athletics: A Five Letter Man

RL: Just to go back to college. You said you didn't study, you never studied at night. One of the things that I found overwhelming in looking at your record was to see that you were a letter man, as I recall, in five sports, captain of two summer sports--tennis and baseball. How on earth did you find time for everything?

Kingman: Well, I put in an awful lot of time with those sports, of course. I never had time to study because I was in athletics so much--all the time. Sometimes I would be so far down in my studies--it might be that I was supposed to pitch against USC [University of Southern California] in a conference game the next Saturday--but my grades didn't permit me to. But the professor was willing to give me a test Saturday morning to see whether I could pass it in order to play in the afternoon!

My father and the fans and everybody would be out there at the ball park in the afternoon waiting to see whether Pomona was going to have Harry Kingman pitching or not. When I would show up in my suit, you know, they would applaud, and I would be in the game. But it was pretty uncertain.

RL: Did you ever miss?

Kingman: Well, no.

RL: Were you doing Y work at this time?

Kingman: No, I wasn't working at anything then. I used to go to college Y meetings sometimes, but that was all.

RL: Your baseball career is very interesting to me and to my boys. Why did you go for it in the first place? I saw that you got a lot of offers from big league clubs.

Kingman: What happened to me in those years, nearly sixty years ago, went something like this. Since I had failed to graduate with my 1913 class, and I still hadn't decided on what I should take up as a life work I decided to attend Springfield Training School in Massachusetts (later named Springfield College). It featured physical education and athletic coaching. I entered the fall session, and then returned to Pomona College to obtain my A.B. degree in June 1914. That spring I coached the Pomona College baseball varsity. Since I was then getting numerous offers to sign with big league clubs I decided to take a shot at pro ball for a time immediately after graduating.

Professional Baseball: Break-up of the Southern California Baseball League

RL: Didn't you have an amusing experience in the summer of 1913 in which you caused the demise of a Southern California league?

Kingman: Yeah, that was a kick--a "Believe It Or Not" happening. At that time there was this minor league down there. Since I had some spare time before entering Springfield I signed to play with the San Bernardino club.

The Southern Cal league was in severe financial straits, and was being kept alive primarily by the fact that its San Diego member team had a long winning streak going, and its games were drawing big crowds.

Kingman: In this particular game in which I was playing first base against San Diego before a sell-out attendance it appeared, at the beginning of the ninth inning, that San Diego was about to win its twenty-first game in a row. It was two runs ahead. I came to bat in the first of the ninth with two teammates on bases and two outs. My homer over the right field wall put us one ahead and the other club failed to score in the last of the ninth. The ridiculous aspect of the event was that I--expecting to be praised for what had happened--found that our manager and even some of our players were quite cool toward me. The next morning a San Diego paper carried the front page story that the Southern California league had folded. Incidentally I didn't get the two weeks pay that I had coming.

RL: What a headline "Rookie breaks up League." Then, a year later after graduating from Pomona you joined the New York Yankees, is that right?

The Washington Senators and the New York Yankees

Kingman: Actually, though the Yanks were after me, I signed a contract with the Washington Senators because I thought I might get a chance at the first base job with that team. But unexpected things happened.

On the morning that my train reached Washington I went immediately to the owner and manager of the Senators, Clark Griffith. When I was admitted to his office there was Frank Chance, who was then managing the New York Yankees. He had been trying to sign me, and the first thing he said was "What the hell you doin' here?"

Chance's great fame and his title "The Peerless Leader" came as a result of managing and playing first base for the Chicago Cubs when they won three world series in a row--I think it was 1906, '07, and '08. The immortal "Tinker to Evers to Chance" phrase in Franklin P. Adams' famous poem which dealt with the Chicago double play combination

Kingman: which specialized in bringing sorrow to the New York Giants, is still a part of baseball lingo. To Frank that morning in 1914 I said "Frank, I'm sorry but I decided my best bet would be to join the Senators."

That afternoon I put on a Washington uniform and was introduced in the clubhouse to the other players by a big friendly good-looking Senator. I asked who he was. I was told "That's just Walter Johnson, the fastest and best pitcher you'll ever know." As I remember it Clark Griffith put me in to pinch hit in about the eighth inning; I hit a home run, which unfortunately was foul by a yard, and then struck out. The next morning I learned that Frank Chance had taken over my contract from Washington. So for the next two seasons as a rookie pitcher with the Yankees I was learning the trade of pitching and never did get a chance to prove that I could hit--my mainstay in college ball.

But I grew to admire and even love Frank Chance. On the wall over there is a framed letter by Frank that he wrote in my behalf after I got out of the Army--a letter of which I am proud.*

RL: I read that. It's a great letter. He seemed a man of high principle in every way.

Kingman: That's right, Rosemary, Frank Chance was one of the most admirable persons that I've known; an inspiring ball player and leader. For example, he wouldn't merely tell his players what to do, he'd go up to bat and get the winning hit in the ninth inning or make the play that saved the game. He was an inspiration to his teammates and a man of great courage. I admired him, too, because he was such a decent guy. He had a lovely wife and was absolutely true to her. He just didn't go along with some of the playboy activities that contemporary books and other writings on sports tend to emphasize regarding what professional athletes do in their spare time.

RL: How did you feel, owned by a club?

Kingman: I didn't give much thought to it. However, it has always been a sore point to a certain extent with

*See page 133.

Kingman: many players that their contracts can be bought or sold without their having any say. The baseball establishment has always claimed--and has been supported by Congress and by the courts--that this "reserve clause" is justified because it keeps rich owners from being able to secure all the best players and thus destroy the necessary keen competition.

Incidentally, the first week with the team I did unintentionally get back at him a little. Prior to a game in Philadelphia, I think it was, a moveable backstop was moved to the plate while batting practice was being held. Frank had me pitching while he leaned against the side of the cage to watch. At a moment when he carelessly glanced away I threw a fast and very wild pitch which to my dismay struck him on the biceps of his left arm. It hurt like the devil and he began roaring at me. This made me all the wilder so he yelled at me to "Get out of there." I trudged over to the sunken dugout and sat down like this (head down between his hands). "I guess I'll be starting back to California tomorrow." I felt a hand on my shoulder and I looked up. It was Manager Chance. He was smiling and said "Kid, forget what I said. That wasn't your fault. I ought to have my head examined for brains to be standing that close to the plate with a wild-eyed lefthander throwing 'em."

RL: How did the old established players treat a rookie?

Kingman: I had some good friends on the club; I was well treated. A disadvantage for a youngster in those days was that there was little coaching. On a big league club today there are several assistant managers and coaches. But Frank had none as I remember it. So I had to pick up what I could.

After I left baseball I corresponded with some of my friends for years. One of them was Walter Johnson, the "Fireball King" of the Washington Senators. Years later I watched him dropping baseballs from the top of the Washington Monument to his catcher "Gabby" Street. It was some kind of a benefit performance. The wind was blowing and the pellets were developing tremendous velocity. "Gabby" darn near got hit in the head with the first one but

Kingman: finally caught the fifth. It fortunately landed in his mitt, bounced up, and he grabbed it before it reached the ground. Walter Johnson and I wrote each other for a long time.

RL: You mentioned the fact that you didn't get much coaching. What else would you say was interestingly different about pro ball then and now?

Kingman: The pay scale. As I remember it I received about \$250 a month, for the six month season--\$1500 for the season. Today I think I am correct in saying that the minimum at the outset is \$12,000 for the half year season; with the eventual possibility of pensions and other added benefits.

RL: That's something isn't it? Another question; the teams were racially segregated at that time, weren't they?

Kingman: Yes, they sure were, despite the fact that some of the big star players in the black leagues in several big cities were plenty good. But it wasn't until Jackie Robinson was given a chance by the Brooklyn Dodgers that Negro players began to have equal opportunity to play. The National League was much more active in signing black ball players than the American League for years; one consequence has been that the National League has won most of the World Series championships ever since. Blacks like Hank Aaron, Willie Mays, and Willie McCovey have dominated the sluggers' lists ever since.

One aspect of racial discrimination continued for years. Certain clubs when they gathered for spring training--particularly in Florida--housed their black players in separate living quarters. When I became a lobbyist in Washington in 1957 I took an interest in bringing this discriminatory practice to an end; this was achieved and our Lobby was given a bit of the credit.

RL: Why did you end your pro baseball career after two seasons?

Kingman: While attending Springfield College in the off-baseball seasons. I became somewhat active in boys clubs in Springfield and in trying to give a little help to less-advantaged kids. I still didn't know what profession I should work toward but I liked the feel of what I was doing. I remember that my parents hoped that baseball would be a temporary activity for me. At the time I received a bachelor's degree in physical education in 1916 I received a telegram from Stiles Hall--the Cal Y--offering me a staff job. If I remember correctly it took me only about twenty-four hours to decide to accept. I never regretted it. Frank Chance was no longer managing the New York team. I imagine that the Yankee front office was disappointed; I was informed at the time that another American League club wanted to obtain my contract.

Freshman Secretary, Stiles Hall 1916-17

RL: How did things go when you first reported to Stiles Hall?

Kingman: One of my first jobs as Freshman Secretary was to try to get a lot of Frosh to a series of meetings where we would have outstanding speakers; some of the talks were on religion, but not exclusively. I recall that Professor Joel Hildebrand of the UC Chemistry Department, a man I have always liked and admired, would speak at a series of four sessions. We would get from two hundred to two hundred and fifty frosh men coming to Stiles to hear him. As I remember it, his general topic for the series was on how to achieve the most out of life.

Another task I remember in those early years, which may have been the thing that began to get me interested in civic responsibility, was to recruit Cal students to serve as poll watchers in the counting of votes in a very controversial and important San Francisco election. I've forgotten the issue but Stiles Hall recruited several hundred Cal students to spend the night in numerous voting places to keep

Kingman: the count honest. I think it was about five in the morning when I got home to bed.

Stiles Hall had a broad-gauge program under the vital leadership of staff members like Ben Cherrington, "Devie" [E. L.] Devendorf, George Collins, and Ralph Scott. It attracted top notch undergrads. I was fortunate indeed to be associated with such people early in my career.

RL: Would you say that campus life was less involved and complicated forty-five years ago?

Kingman: Yeah, that's right, and it enabled Stiles to promote certain types of program which would be most difficult today. For instance we used to arrange a series of large meetings in old Harmon Gym; top national religious speakers like Raymond Robbins, Sherwood Eddy, John R. Mott would hold forth for four nights in a row, and with most of the approximately three thousand men undergraduates in attendance.

Another example was the annual Roy Service Campaign which Stiles Hall conducted on the campus. Cal fellows contributed about five thousand dollars a year to the support of an alumnus, Roy Service '02, a YMCA Secretary in Chengtu, west China. He had been a UC varsity track star, and distinguished himself by the constructive program that he developed over many years in China. Incidentally, his son Jack [John S.] Service, who later served in the American foreign service in China, has been much in the news of late. Rosemary, in a later interview I'll probably have a chance, won't I, to talk about changes in the '30's, '40's and '50's in student interests and Stiles Hall emphases?

RL: Oh sure. Now, you took several leaves of absence from Stiles Hall during a forty year span, didn't you, so let's jump to the first one when you served in World War I. What happened to you in the Army?

Army Service 1917-1919

Kingman: It was in the summer of 1917 that I was drafted and I had the good luck to be in New York for a couple of weeks prior to reporting for army duty at Camp Lewis near Tacoma, Washington. There was a little informal school for draftees to learn the elementary "Squads Right and Left" bit, on Governor's Island near the Statue of Liberty, which I attended. The result was that on about the second day in uniform at Camp Lewis, I was appointed by my company commander to be a drill sergeant.

RL: That was quick work!

Kingman: Yep. After a few months, I was picked to attend the third Officers Training Camp held at Camp Lewis and was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to Camp Gordon, then situated in the city of pretty gals--Atlanta, Georgia.

Still lucky for me the commanding general proved to be immensely interested in baseball. I was playing in the camp regimental competition, and was made captain of the Camp Gordon varsity. The General called me in and instructed me to try to secure the best service ball club in the nation. So we did get a great club together. And unless my memory fails me, the General did not permit members of the team to be sent to France.

RL: Did you want to go?

Kingman: I thought I did. It was a war, you know, to "make the world safe for Democracy." I remember the night in early November, 1918, when a false armistice was announced nationally. It came a week before the war really ended. One of my buddies at the time was Mike Gibbons, a top professional middle weight boxer. We both considered ourselves patriotic. I recall that on the night of the phony armistice report we were walking down West Peachtree in Atlanta and were passing young fellows in civies who were yelling and cheering because the war was over. Mile and I felt in such a bad mood because we hadn't gotten to France

Kingman: that we bumped several of these chaps off the sidewalk. At a later date I began to feel glad that I hadn't gone overseas and returned minus a leg or blind or something.

RL: You have said several times that you felt lucky about things that happened to you while in army service. Didn't luck ever desert you?

Kingman: A good question. Yeah. Once, while on night maneuvers, I fell into a deep trench and hurt my left hip which in recent years has been giving me increasing trouble. Oh, and I remember that it was at Camp Gordon that I suffered the greatest embarrassment of my life.

There was to be a formal review on the parade grounds in honor of a famed general; if my memory doesn't fail me it was the great John J. Pershing. I was notified that I was to requisition a horse at regimental stables because, as acting Battalion Adjutant for the day, I would be mounted. Ye Gods, believe it or not, I had never learned to ride. So I requested a mild, non-temperamental animal who wouldn't be likely to pitch me off right in front of the review stand just as I gave the "Eyes Right" command and made my salute.

Shortly before the parade took off, the horse was delivered and I got aboard. He was rather a bedraggled and moth-eaten appearing steed but I felt confident that I wouldn't fall off. However, approaching the reviewing stand my nag's head began drooping lower and lower. I was kind of scared to pull on the reins or anything, and as I saluted the famous general I doubt whether my mount's muzzle was more than two inches off the ground. It was just a terrible thing!

Completely mortified at what happened, I walked off by myself on a country road there in Atlanta to get away from the friendly gibes of my peers--some of them from UC. A motor car came along. It bore the insignia indicating some military big shot was inside. I stepped to the side of the road and saluted and the salute was returned by General Pershing. I

Kingman: hoped that he hadn't recognized me, but I feared the worst. He had a smile on his face--come to think of it I haven't been on a horse since.

Becomes Anti-war

RL: That's quite a story on the trials and tribulations of military life. Harry, another question--you hadn't become anti-war at the end of World War I but your attitude changed rather rapidly after that, didn't it?

Kingman: Yes. I returned to Stiles Hall and did a lot of reading and thinking and discussing about international and racial affairs and developments with student groups. Incidentally, I was in temporary command of a black company at the war's end. I experienced a very stimulating period of work and contacts in the next three years before I moved to China. I rather rapidly woke up to the fact that victory in World War I hadn't made the world "Safe for Democracy"--on the contrary. Sure, a dangerous military dictator has to be stopped but the total effort must be far greater and more constructive than war. A better way had to be found, otherwise World War II might be more disastrous than its predecessor.

By the time I went to China to work with students under the auspices of the International Committee of the YMCA I had moved quite a distance from the evening that Mike Gibbons and I walked the sidewalks in Atlanta.

RL: I saw a clipping that appeared in a Shanghai newspaper in 1923 reporting something you said in a church debate at the Navy YMCA there. Do you mind reading a portion of what you were quoted as saying?

Kingman: Okay. I'll read briefly from the clipping.

"Whether Christians should refuse to sanction or participate in war was the

Kingman: subject of an interesting debate conducted before a crowded audience in the auditorium of the Navy YMCA. Harry Kingman was one of the participants."

"Individual Christians and churches should hereafter refuse to sanction or participate in war," said Mr. Harry Kingman, the first speaker of the affirmative, "because in going to war a Christian acts contrary to the main principles taught by our great leader. War blights personality, thriving only on falsehood and demanding of its followers the surrender of their freedom of moral judgment. War sneers at Christian ideals. If the principles of Jesus do not disqualify war as a method for fighting for right then they have very little meaning for one who is seeking the way out of the world's difficulties.

In 1917 we fought to end war. 'War is a hideous monster; we were told,' but by taking part in this one we shall end it for all time.' Today we see more men under arms than there were in 1914. Terrible as it seems, we cannot escape the fact that Europe is laying the powder for a new and greater war."

RL: That is something that has astonished me in reading your Chinese newsletters in the '20's.* Extraordinary prescience that you seem to have had for the shape of politics, both nationally and internationally. I don't know how many people in 1923 saw what was coming as clearly as that. Did you read a lot--read a lot of newspapers?

Kingman: Yes, increasingly. Of course we were somewhat limited out there in China; although there was a good English newspaper, The North China Daily News; and The China Press was a good American daily and Sunday paper. They carried quite a lot of news and then we used to get books and magazines from home. The fact that I would get into a debate, gosh, I've very seldom done that in my whole life! But you know, it was several years after I got out of the Army and I had been changing my thinking.

*See Appendix 3.

III THE CHINA YEARS: 1921-27

In China with the International YMCA, Student Division

RL: Did you come back to Stiles Hall as Freshman Secretary when you were released from the Army?

Kingman: That's right, but only briefly. In 1921 I moved to China.

RL: How did that happen?

Kingman: In 1920 there was a big student conference held in Des Moines, Iowa, a national conference of a religious nature to set forth the need for college-trained people to consider serving abroad in whatever they were qualified for. So the Cal YM and YW took a big delegation from the Berkeley campus, men and women. I remember we had a couple of special cars on the trains. We were there for a week hearing different outstanding leaders who had themselves mostly served in places like India, China, and so on.

I went to all of the meetings and I was rather inspired by the leaders and by some of the things that were said. I decided that I'd like to go if I could go under auspices that would give me the kind of work that I was qualified for. When the National YMCA, which had an international section, found that I was interested and available they decided that they would take me on for a six year term to serve in China.

RL: That was a big commitment.

Kingman: Yes. Let's see. I guess it was in the fall. It was September of 1921 that I took the Empress of Asia--it was a British ship, I think, it may have been American, I've forgotten--and sailed for Shanghai.

I remember that on board was John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his wife and daughter, and I had a chance to get acquainted with them. He happened to be not only a tremendously wealthy person but also very generous. He gave a lot of money to causes like the International Committee of the YMCA.

RL: How long did it take?

Kingman: Well, I think this trip only took a little over two weeks. When my wife came over to marry me in Shanghai a year later, she went over on the old steamship China which took a whole month to get there.

Language School, Nanking

Kingman: My first year in China was mostly in Nanking, studying in a Chinese language school. I had been able to speak Chinese as a kid but I'd been away so long I'd forgotten it all. But I caught onto it pretty rapidly and did very well. That was Mandarin, the national language we were studying.

RL: Did you have a private tutor or were you in classes?

Kingman: Well, both methods. Most of the time we spent in classes. But then also there would be--I guess there were about one hundred students in the school--we would each be alone with a very fine teacher for maybe an hour. Then we were supposed to study at night. I worked very hard on the thing.

But when I was assigned to Shanghai to work with male students of the colleges and high schools there, most of them spoke the Wu dialect which was completely different from what I had studied.

RL: How much time did you spend on written Chinese and how much on spoken?

Kingman: Not too much on written. I think I learned about a thousand characters, something like that. But it was mostly speaking.

Many of the students in Shanghai were hoping to go abroad and particularly were hoping to go to the United States, and they didn't want to talk Chinese to me. They only wanted to talk English. So because most of the students spoke a different dialect, and many wanted to learn English I didn't get much chance to use what I'd learned.

RL: Who were the students in the language school? Were they mostly missionaries?

Kingman: Yes, mostly Protestant. They were to be assigned, you know, all over China.

RL: And everybody studied Mandarin irrespective of where they were going?

Kingman: Yes, because--well, in my case at least--I didn't know where I was going to go. Then also, I got in the habit of going down to Shanghai at the weekends while I was in the language school to play baseball, because they had a very good American team there. I used to go down on a railway car without berths or anything. They only had two long seats, the full length of the two sides of the car. So of course what one had to do was to take a blanket and get down to the station fairly early so that one could stretch out. That was the way I was travelling because I was paying my own way and didn't have much money. Of course I got well-acquainted in Shanghai because of playing there.

Then I was assigned to Shanghai and of course continued playing ball with the club. We won the championship of the Far East one year; that was in 1924. We used to play the best Japanese teams; some of them were very good. Then there were the American Naval teams which would come along and the Peking Marines, the American detachment there. So

Kingman: my Chinese really didn't improve much and I didn't get very good at it.

RL: But you could use it up at Tientsin when you went there later, didn't you?

Kingman: Yes, some. But it was the same thing. The students up there were interested in English, not in helping me to learn Chinese, and my work was totally with students.

RL: Do you regret the time you spent at the language school?

Kingman: No. That was very interesting and it was fun.

Work with Students in Shanghai

RL: In Shanghai, were you working with university and middle school students?

Kingman: Yes.

RL: Would you say middle school was roughly equivalent to our high schools?

Kingman: Right.

To quite an extent the program that I was in was similar to what I had been trying to carry on here at Stiles Hall at the University YMCA in Berkeley. Some discussion groups--the students who would come to them were very interested in studying abroad sometime. They were interested in politics and they were, many of them, increasingly nationalistic and feeling responsibility for their country because from times immemorial in China when times were going bad for the country it's been a tradition that students would try to come to the rescue. So we used to talk quite a bit about international affairs and that sort of thing.

At the time that I was in the Army I had no particular feelings against the war, a war to save

Kingman: democracy and do away with dictators and so on. I got very interested in international matters and became more and more sceptical about what you accomplish by war. So that when I was in Shanghai, as I've already stated, I'd become pretty much of an anti-war person. I felt that it just wasn't the way to do all the things it was supposed to do. Sometimes maybe you had to do something as a holding action but mankind had to find better ways of handling problems. We'd discuss things like that.

I remember once in a student group I asked the question how many of them agreed with the remarks by the American Decatur, "My Country, right or wrong. May it always be right, but right or wrong, My Country." Most approved it. The more active-thinking students there did, those who were becoming more and more bitter against what foreign powers were doing to China under the Unequal Treaties, and the fact that a foreigner in China could not be tried in a Chinese court. He could only be tried in a court of his own nationals; this was termed "extra-territoriality." Then, of course, there was the tremendous advantage taken of China in business matters where a foreign business couldn't be charged more than five percent ad valorem, whereas the Chinese competitor was being taxed far more than that and put at a great disadvantage. In those days, of course, it was a War Lord period where provincial top men were taxing the people terrifically; sometimes decades ahead.

I remember when one general up in Shantung province would tax some forty years in advance. Of course, the students that I was working with were getting more and more disturbed about this sort of thing; they figured you've got to fight!

RL: When you started did you have any difficulties getting into the universities and getting the groups going? Did you meet resistance or specifically anti-Christian feeling?

Kingman: Personally, I did not. But I was also interested in athletics and I did quite a bit of coaching. In other words, I had friends among the students right from the start.

Kingman: Of course there developed a lot of anti-religious, anti-Christian feeling among students and many of the Chinese during the years that I was there from '21 to '27. Most of it that I ever came in contact with was in relation to the unfair treatment that our western countries were giving China. And of course, there were people who felt that the missionary privileges and prerogatives had developed out of policies and military pressures of the countries from which we came. But that wasn't personal, you know, and of course, I myself was so sympathetic to their feelings that any anti-feeling didn't reach me, wasn't directed at me.

Attitudes of the Foreign Community

RL: Of course Shanghai in the '20's and '30's has a strange and wonderful image--the International Settlement, the race track, the night life, etc., etc.--a period of immense ferment and excitement.

About the foreign community, how many of them do you think saw the May 30th movement developing? How did they see it, as anti-foreign or Communist-inspired or both? I know that this is a very general question, you can't talk about the foreign community as a bloc. There were people of different nationalities and different orientations, but I'd like to hear some of your impressions of them.

Did you ever take in the horse races?

Kingman: I didn't. I never got to be a race track fan. I think I only went to one day of racing there in Shanghai. But our baseball field was in the same part of the city, right near the track. We were given several acres in the race track compound and our ball team used to have a great big mat house built every summer to serve as a baseball clubhouse.

RL: That was straw matting on a bamboo frame?

Kingman: Yes, so we were very close to the racing but I personally never got hooked. I always figured that

Kingman: you didn't have very good odds betting on horses. If you want to gamble, other ways are better. Like poker.

RL: Were you a poker player?

Kingman: Oh yes. I played a lot of poker!

RL: But to get back to the Western community in Shanghai --

Kingman: Yes. Well, the leading newspaper there was The North China Daily News, a British paper. Then up in Tientsin the leading foreign paper was also British; if I am not mistaken it was named the Tientsin Times. It had a very famous die-hard editor named Woodhead, a member of the Order of the British Empire. He was an extremely conservative person and his paper was continually full of letters attacking the Chinese for this, that and the other thing.

After I moved up to Tientsin he got after me, too, you know, because I was working with students and sympathetic to their points of view and felt that the treaties were unfair--that sort of thing. So the leading foreign newspapers in major Chinese cities were pretty unsympathetic toward Chinese patriotic and nationalistic hopes and lots of their nationals went along with this and most of them probably didn't try to understand what the Chinese were talking about.

But because I was in athletics so much there were a lot of Americans in Shanghai who were friendly to me and the same way in Tientsin because when I was transferred there I was playing ball also. That meant that I would have some friends at least in the foreign community.

RL: But by and large your so-called radical views were very unpopular I gather.

Kingman: Yes. The missionary group had many conservatives in it who pretty much went along with their own national policies. A lot of them individually were very critical of any person of their own race who

Kingman: took other positions.

RL: Took the side of the natives, as it might have been said?

Kingman: Yes.

RL: Were Catholics any different on this?

Kingman: I didn't have much chance to size up what their attitudes were. I remember I wrote an article for a Tientsin newspaper in regard to the relationship of foreign missionaries to their governments and so on. I remember one of the things I said was that I thought that those of us who were over there in missionary work--YMCA, YWCA work--shouldn't automatically after furlough return to China, but that the local people, the Chinese, should ask for us to come back if they wanted us.

Incidentally, when I first went to China as an adult I guess I did it primarily with the idea of helping its people somehow. But very soon it dawned on me that I had something to learn from citizens of a nation with the long and respected civilization that China had. I became particularly impressed with the life and teachings of Motze, a contemporary of Confucius. I remember writing an article about him which was published in Dr. John Haynes Holmes' literary magazine, Unity, in New York. Motze's insights and courage until old age truly inspired me.

Of course, there were many Protestant and Catholic missionaries who had been in China for years and years and were alienating a lot of younger Chinese because of their agreement with their governments' self-serving treaties, that I didn't exactly agree with.

You know, the foreign community couldn't understand, for the most part, why anyone would be so dissatisfied with what the foreign white man had been doing. Aspects of the treaties had become antediluvian but people didn't feel that to be the case. Some, a few years later, changed quite a bit.

Kingman: But I guess I was among the first who really brought to their attention--that questioning of gunboat diplomacy for the establishment of the status of missions or the entrance of missionaries to China was looming up more and more in the minds of the Chinese people--particularly the younger people. They just didn't intend to go along with it permanently. Then, when one of their own people came along and sided in with the Chinese, it was pretty tough on some of the older ones.

The Historic May 30th Incident, 1925

RL: I'd like to know what you, personally, saw of the May 30th incident? What was the atmosphere of Shanghai like? Was it very tense or did the troubles come like a bolt from the blue?

Kingman: Well, there had been increasing difficulties in some of the mills and factories which were owned by Japanese or British or Americans, where the new labor movement had begun to become active to try to improve working conditions and wages. There had been an increasing amount of disapproval by foreign businessmen. Profits were often tremendous but they felt there was getting to be too much insistence on improvement in working hours and wages and all that sort of thing. I remember that the first strike by Chinese workers against the foreigner was in the fall of 1921 down in Hong Kong where there was a successful strike by Chinese against the British shipping interests. They won some of their demands. This quickly affected some of the similar worker-owner relationships in Shanghai and the students got interested in it.

The famous Shanghai incident of May 30th, 1925, came as a consequence of this sort of thing developing very rapidly. The Communist Party of China had been started in Shanghai in '22, I think it was, by Chou En-lai, who is the present Prime Minister of China. He went over to France as a young man, as an industrial worker, and had become a Communist. Then he moved to Shanghai and was a leader in the organization

Kingman: of the Chinese Communist Party. At that time this was composed of a very small group who had to stay in the shadows because they'd have been arrested if apprehended. Undoubtedly these individuals had influence in developing labor restiveness. But that was only part of the increasing unrest. A lot of it was the growing general nationalist feeling in which the students played a large part.

In the spring of 1925, there was a strike in some of the silk mills in Shanghai owned by Japanese, where things got so bad that one of the strikers was shot and killed in the mill. There was a meeting called by different nationalist and other Chinese groups and individuals who wanted to protest the killing. Right after the meeting, some students marched from the Chinese part of Shanghai, into the International Settlement. Several were arrested and put in jail there.

I remember that when I heard about it I got in touch with a very prominent Japanese judge, a very good friend of mine, to see if he could get the kids released. He said, "Sure, I'll get them out."

But then he phoned me later and said that the foreign businessmen in Shanghai are so angry and so disturbed about what is going on, that they are going to make an example of these fellows.

So on the morning of May 30th the trial of these kids was held. I was there and listened to it. The foreign judge ruled that they would be kept in prison for a continuing period--indefinite.

RL: An indefinite period?

Kingman: At least, they were not released that morning. A lot of the college students around the city had planned that if these fellows were not released the morning of May 30th they were going to demonstrate in the International Settlement.

That afternoon I was in a ball game at the race course. In about the middle of the game we noticed a tremendous tie-up out on the main boulevard near

Kingman: where Nanking Road became Bubbling Well Road in the French Concession. Later we heard that the demonstration had gotten out of hand and that Sikh police, under the orders of a British sergeant, had given the order to fire and eleven were killed. That was what happened.

It was probably that event, more than anything else, that greatly increased the amount of nationalist feeling throughout China at that time. One of the students who was killed was a very good athlete that I was coaching out in Nanyang College, Akim Chen, a wonderful kid. I learned he had had no contact with Communists. The next day the foreign newspapers came out with the story that this was purely a Communist demonstration.

I knew that this was a very inadequate explanation. A lot of the students involved were trying to carry out the tradition that had grown up in China that students try to do something for their country when it is necessary, when it is needed.

RL: Before this episode, when the troubles were building up, did students come and discuss the problem with you and ask you for advice? If so, what did you advise them?

Kingman: No; not involving the demonstration. But some of the fellows like Akim Chen would probably have known that I was very conscious of the need for a change in the Unequal Treaties and that I was very sympathetic to a student movement which would try to help its country rid itself of the exploitation to which the Chinese were being exposed by some of the foreign businessmen under the existing treaties.

RL: What happened after the shooting? Was the city in turmoil?

Kingman: Yes, it was. The International Settlement had its own militia composed exclusively of non-Chinese residents of the area. They got out the barbed wire defense around the International Settlement. As I remember it there was some kind of civil war going on not too far away and there was anxiety that there might be an attack on the foreign districts by some

Kingman: of these Chinese forces. At that time there were a number of powerful warlords in different provinces who were building up their military forces--mostly against each other.

RL: But you got home all right that day?

Kingman: Yes. Ruth and I lived in the Chinese part of the city. The barbed wire was up for I don't remember how long, but anyway, one could get through it.

Letter in Support of the Students Results in
Transfer to Tientsin

RL: I'd like to hear about how and why you wrote your letter in defense of the students who were active in the May 30th movement and the reaction that was generated in the foreign community in Shanghai and among the Chinese.*

Kingman: I told you that one of the boys Akim Chen, who was killed, was an unusually fine chap that I had been coaching in athletics at Nanyang University. The very next day the British and American press came out with the interpretation of what had happened--that the demonstration was entirely Communist-inspired. Though I knew that there were Communists working in the shadows of Shanghai at that time, I also felt that many of the fellows who had participated in the May 30th demonstration were quite justified in protesting foreign exploitation of their country and people. It was legitimate, honest, reasonable love of country, and desire to be of help when their government was inadequate and weak and unable to do what needed to be done, to begin to try to bring about a change in the unfair relationships between the foreigner and China.

So I read all this stuff for the next three or four days and I got to feeling that it was so

*See Appendix 1.

- Kingman: inadequate an explanation of what had happened that I should write and make an appeal to those from other countries to at least try to understand that there was much more to it than what the foreign press in Shanghai was stating. So that was what I did. I've always been kind of proud of the appeal for fair play that I made.
- RL: Well I think you should be. Wasn't it reprinted all over China in the Chinese press?*
- Kingman: That's right. It was translated into Chinese and published all over the country. Then, of course, I got letters from Chinese student groups and individuals thanking me with deep feeling. The attractive sister of Akim Chen--one of the slain students--Miss Y.T. Chen, wrote me later. She said that she now had a scholarship in Nanyang University "because of my loving brother Akim who died for his country. You will not be forgotten ever and forever."
- RL: I am sure that is true. But then the papers were flooded with angry letters--all of them anonymous as I recall--from the foreign community.
- Kingman: That's right. It went on for weeks. Any letters supporting me, apparently, were not used. They were filed in the wastebasket.
- RL: What was the reaction of the YMCA to all of this?
- Kingman: I was transferred within a month from Shanghai to Tientsin.
- RL: Do you have any idea how or why or if pressure was brought to bear?
- Kingman: No, I don't. I really don't know. Of course, it could have been partly motivated by wanting to take me off the spot by my Chinese friends in the Chinese YMCA movement. They were in authority and in a position to make the decision. But I just don't know about that.

*See Appendix 2.

RL: Did it become unpleasant for you and Ruth in Shanghai?

Kingman: Well, yes, it was a strange experience to have people--I remember one American bishop who, when he first read the letter congratulated me and everything, but a week later didn't want to talk to me at all. Things like that.

I was captain of the Shanghai American Baseball Club, for example, but when I sailed for Tientsin only one member came to see me off.

He said, "Harry, you've got friends here but the feeling is so great that none of the fellows felt free to come down to say 'Good-bye.'"

RL: Terrible! Because good-byes in China tend to be great mob scenes in my experience. Everybody comes to see somebody off. Isn't that right?

Kingman: Yeah. Well, he brought me a present to give me because some of the other fellows had chipped in, you know. But it was really an amazing experience. It was good for me because if you are active for a number of years in your life and try to do what you think you should do as a citizen in a democratic--in a hoped-for democratic society--you are going to run across strong opposition, and you have to develop some experience with it and try not to become too much affected by pressures or temporary feelings.

RL: I imagine this was the first time you had ever run into massive unpopularity; is that right?

Kingman: That's right. Yes.

RL: I think it was for Ruth, too, and I think she said that it helped to sensitize her later to other problems, racial problems, the problems of the Japanese-Americans. The May 30th incident and the effects on your acquaintanceships and friends was a very important experience in her life.

Kingman: Yes, that's probably true.

China Newsletters

RL: One of the things that most impressed me about your years in China was the newsletters that you wrote.* I was struck by your perceptiveness and accurate predictions of the likely course of events in China. I was also interested to see the range of people you sent them to, and the responses you got. I would like to know what started you on this and how you managed this tremendous job along with all your other activities?

Kingman: Well, the thing I started doing at first was getting out an annual New Year's letter. I started that in about 1923 or 1924, I guess. Those I wrote in '25 or '26 dealt increasingly with controversial international politics and increasingly I began getting requests by friends saying, "There is hardly any Chinese news in the American or British papers. Anything you could write me about what really goes on would be appreciated." So I began getting out short mimeographed reports to about fifty rather potent individuals around the world, though mostly in America. It was a penny-ante project since we had little money, but they were much appreciated.

Senator [William] Borah, Republican Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for one, corresponded with me on several occasions. On December 4, 1925, he wrote:

"Your letter of the 31st received and carefully read. I cannot tell you how very much I am indebted to you for writing me so fully and so illuminatingly in regard to the Chinese situation. I am intensely interested in the matter and anxious to get all the reliable information at hand. I thank you and hope you will continue to write me from time to time.

I very much fear, Mr. Kingman, that the time will come when there will be an effort

*See Appendix 3.

Kingman: to prevent anything of real, substantial value being done for the Chinese people. I do not mean by this to challenge the good intention of my own government, but I know, or think I know, that there are influences which, after maneuvering to a certain extent before the people, will desire to rob the movement of all real and substantial value. They do not want the Chinese people to be free and independent. They prefer to keep them for the purpose of exploitation. I cannot see any program other than that of tariff autonomy and the withdrawal in due time of extraterritorial rights. I sincerely hope that this will be the goal for which we all shall strive."

At the time of the May 30th Incident in Shanghai Senator Borah came out with a statement which was carried worldwide expressing sympathy with Chinese youth in its attempt to call attention to foreign exploitation of their country. Ironically, during a brief period immediately succeeding the tragedy, many Chinese--particularly in Kiangsu Province where Shanghai is located--got the impression that Senator Borah and I were about the sole American friends that they possessed.

RL: Who were some of the others to whom you sent mailings whose names would still be remembered?

Kingman: Well, Mahatma Gandhi wrote me from India "I thank you for your letter which is so seasonable...I never put much reliance on newspapers and I am most anxious to know what is happening now in China."* English leaders like Premier Lloyd-George and Premier Ramsay MacDonald welcomed my reports, novelist H.G. Wells also.

Here's a letter by the editor of the New Republic at that time, Robert Morss Lovett, "I am indebted to you for your admirable report on conditions in China. I've placed the letter in circulation at Hull House

*See Appendix 4.

Kingman: (this is Chicago) of which I am a resident and made use of it in some editorial comments in the New Republic, of which I am an editor. Your statement is admirable, clear and definite and in its sympathetic attitude toward China gives encouragement to all of us in this country who are looking for a happy outcome of China's political troubles."

Bertrand Russell wrote me the following note. "Very thankful for your letter. If you can give me further information from time to time I shall be still more grateful. Your outlook on Chinese affairs seems to be very much the same as mine. I wish I could revisit China but I am afraid it is impossible."

Many years later Ruth and I had Bertrand Russell at lunch here in Berkeley with some professors and others. That was the time when he had been writing, particularly on new concepts on the relationships between men and women. A very funny thing happened. Our phone was in the dining room. We were all seated there. The phone rang and I answered it. It was a woman's voice and she said, "I would like to speak to Lord Russell." So he got up and went to the phone and the guests couldn't help hearing what was said and this dame wanted to make an appointment with him to discuss his views. He was putting her off, but she was on the make and it was really funny.

I was supposed to meet him at the train when he came in and I was down there at the Berkeley station to meet him to take him up to our home. He didn't get off the train at Berkeley, so I climbed aboard--the train was still standing there--and I saw him sitting in one of the cars reading a paperback. So I went up to him and said, "Here we are. This is Berkeley where you get off." So he got up and put down his paperback. I reached down for it and he said, "Oh, no, don't bother about that." I looked at it and Scissors Cut Paper, I remember, was the title of the book.

RL: What was it, a thriller?

Kingman: I guess it was probably some kind of a detective tale.

RL: That's a nice story--an extraordinary man.

Recollections of Tientsin

RL: Tientsin must have been very different from Shanghai. You really were in the heart of War Lord Country then up there.

Kingman: Yes.

RL: What were your relations there with the foreign community? Was it different from Shanghai?

Kingman: Not too different. As I said, the press in both of those cities was pretty conservative. But on the other hand athletics all through my life have brought me many well wishers; I mean lots of people were interested in sports, so I didn't have to have everybody friendly to me. If you have some friends that's about all you can hope for.

RL: So you with athletics and Ruth with music had ways of meeting people across all sorts of lines.

Kingman: Yes, right. Ruth made a terrific hit. She had a marvelous voice and she sang in the treaty ports out there and lots of people heard her. Like up in Tsingtao, the summering place there in Shantung province, in an old German church, a big old German church--it had wonderful acoustics and she had a powerful contralto voice. She was a real musician; that was what she had studied and worked on. That was wonderful. She had a reputation in those big cities. Also she headed an international choir of about hundred people up in Tientsin. So speaking about how foreigners felt about us, some had friendly feelings. They used to applaud Ruth's music as well as my sports.

RL: Then did you ever meet either Fen Yü-hsiang or Chang Tso-lin, the generals, when they were fighting around Tientsin at that time?

Kingman: I never met Feng Yü-hsiang, although I followed him very closely and I wrote about him.

Then Chang Tso-lin, the old War Lord from Manchuria, I never met him but I met his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, who was an attractive guy. He was interested in lots of things. I have letters, a couple of letters here from his secretary Tommy Y.C. Lee; when the young General wanted to play some bridge.

So I set up a bridge game in our home in Tientsin. There was a civil war going on right near there and the young General, Chang Hsueh-liang, was in command of the forces of his father, Chang Tso-lin. But his secretary, whom I had gotten to know, came to tell me that he thought that the general could be there by 2 p.m. that Saturday afternoon. So we had it set up and then he didn't come. Tommy rang the front door bell about two-thirty or so, I guess, and apologized. He said the young General's father, Chang Tso-lin, whose headquarters were in Mukden, Manchuria, had suddenly come down to see how the campaign was going. Consequently the young General hadn't been able to get away but--very apologetic--he would like us to make another try. Incidentally Chang Hsueh-liang was the military leader who later kidnapped Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for a time.

RL: Did the bridge game ever come off?

Kingman: Nope.

RL: What a pity.

George Catlett Marshall

RL: When you were in Tientsin you met George Marshall, didn't you? Later General Marshall.

Kingman: Yes. He was a Lieutenant Colonel in Tientsin with the US 19th Infantry. We got to know him, liked him very much. One think I liked about him, he was

- Kingman: studying Chinese so he could get to make a short speech in Chinese. Then we had quite a few contacts with him afterward over the years and he invited us, Ruth and me, to his home in Leesburg while we were lobbying there in Washington. Just the day before we were expecting to go one of his aides phoned us from Leesburg and said that he was seriously ill and had to postpone the visit. He died a few days later. He was a great man in my opinion. I sure have wished that he had still been around these last few years.
- RL: Did you find yourself in basic agreement on America's China policy at that time? Or wasn't he free to discuss these matters?
- Kingman: Well, I don't remember exactly, but his attitude towards the Chinese was very good, very sympathetic. During the Marshall Mission in the forties, when he went over to China to try to avert the danger of civil war in China between Chiang-Kai-shek's Kuomintang and Mao Tse-tung's communist regime, he dealt primarily with Chou En-lai.
- I was following it as closely as I could. It seemed to me that the two men were getting along well. They both seemed to respect and like each other. At one point it looked like they might pull off the thing--achieve the avoidance of the civil war. But our China policy got into politics in Washington--very much so--and the American adherents of Chiang Kai-shek won out. So the war developed and we got into it on the losing side.
- I, personally, was very much opposed to our getting involved in the Chinese Civil War. I have a copy of a letter that I wrote to the press before the die was cast and prophesied that our entry would be a mammoth mistake. Although there were many people in the White House, in Congress, and throughout the nation who didn't want to get involved militarily we did go in, and on the losing side.
- Getting back to George Marshall--shortly after he died--I wrote a brief letter about him which appeared in the Washington Post as follows:

Kingman: "My wife and I have followed his tremendous career with admiration and affection. General Marshall was more than a great American, he was an inspiring one as well. Last year in Washington it was reported that 'he just refused a million dollars for his memoirs, telling the prospective buyer he'd already been paid by his government for his services to it.' He gave all his papers to his alma mater.

We have lost an unforgettable leader, who was democratic, humble and uncovetous. His life can remind us that America can still produce vital individuals of simple integrity and unselfish devotion."

Because of the Marshall mission to China in the '40's, when he attempted to head off the threatening civil war, and because as Secretary of State, Marshall could be soft spoken in dealing with representatives of certain communist nations, he was bitterly criticized by certain extreme anti-communist opponents in this country. Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana, for example, made a bitter verbal attack on him in the '50's, and actually called him traitorous. A member of the national press asked Marshall for his comment on Jenner's attack. George Marshall, with a wry smile answered merely, "I don't believe I've ever met Senator Jenner."

He was somebody we sure could have used if he'd lived longer.

Sino-Japanese Relations: The Manchurian Question

RL: You travelled quite a bit in the Far East, as I recall. Didn't you coach baseball in Japan?

Kingman: My interest in Japanese baseball went way back. In 1905 as a small boy in Claremont, I watched the first Japanese team that visited America play Pomona College. Professor Abe, called the father of baseball in Japan,

Kingman: was in charge. I saw the game and met the professor. Then, while working in Shanghai in the early twenties, I played against numerous travelling Japanese teams. In 1927, on my way back to the USA, I stopped off in Japan for a month to coach baseball around the Osaka area. The major newspaper there, the Osaka Mainichi, invited me to do this and had me writing baseball for its sports section.

RL: What was your impression of Japan at the time? Did you sense that war coming?

Kingman: This was in '27 and relations between Japan and China were worsening. But I don't recall any particular attitude of antagonism toward the U.S. then, except that we were against Japan's aggressive encroachments in Manchuria.

RL: I was thinking more of the Manchurian situation.

Kingman: Oh yes, there was definite worsening of relationships between China and the Japanese. I wrote my master's thesis on the subject of Chinese nationalism in Manchurian railway developments.* It wasn't that I was particularly interested in railways but at that time this was a hot political problem as between China and Japan and Manchuria, where the Chinese were trying to develop some major railway lines of their own in competition with the South Manchurian Railway, which was Japan-controlled. This also brought Soviet Russia into the picture somewhat.

RL: I was interested in that choice of yours of a thesis subject. Did you find it a rewarding thesis to write?

Kingman: I think I would have to review it to answer that question. But it was interesting because it was so much involved in world affairs which I had been following in China and in the Far East.

*Kingman, Harry L., Effects of Chinese Nationalism upon Manchurian Railway Developments, 1925-1931 (Berkeley, 1932) University of California Press.

Kingman: Living there in China where I was very close to the Manchurian rivalries, I was concerned as to what was going to happen, whether war would result. The railway situation was a part of it and hadn't been written about at that time. I wanted to get a master's degree at Cal and there was a history professor who had lived out there.

RL: Who was that?

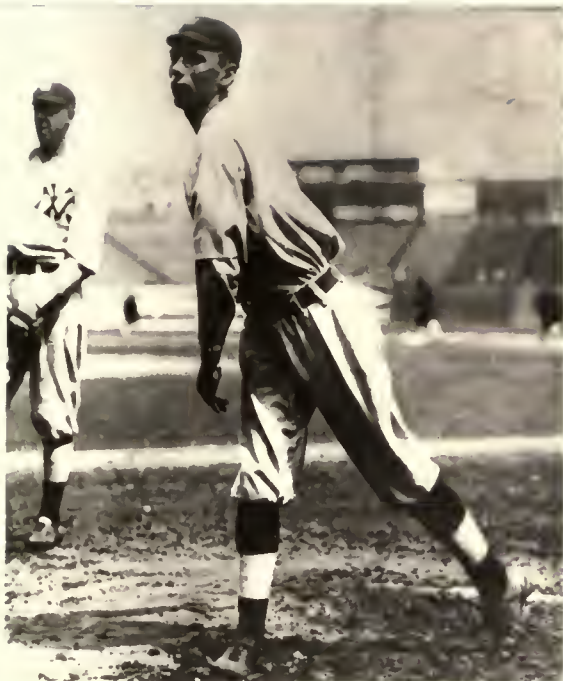
Kingman: Edwin Landon. While an army officer he had been stationed there. He was a very stimulating individual, with a lot of information and knowledge; I enjoyed working with him on it.

RL: Why did you want an MA?

Kingman: Oh, just to keep moving, I guess.

RL: But you decided not to go on for a Ph.D.?

Kingman: Check.



New York Yankees rookie pitcher, Harry Kingman, 1914.



Pomona College teammate of Harry Kingman.



Harry Kingman, athlete. Shot put and pole vault, Pomona, 1913.



Harry Kingman with Japanese semi-pro baseball players whom he coached in 1927.

Newspaper clipping from The China Press, Shanghai, 1927.

"Baseball fans throughout the Far East will be sorry to learn of the departure of Harry Kingman for the States, for good, as we are given to understand that he has been transferred elsewhere, Harry is without a doubt the sweetest first baseman and best hitter that ever hit the Orient not excepting the big leaguers, for no matter what class of ball a man is playing it, is a wonderful achievement to hit in the 400 class, Harry has accomplished the feat at least three times to my knowledge.

"His many friends here are not going to let him slip through our midst without some sign of appreciation for his previous good work and high grade of sportsmanship, and it is believed by a few that are in on the "know" that a Kingman Day will be arranged during his brief stay in Shanghai and Harry will be seen for the last time in a Shanghai uniform at his old position. First base; when it is hoped that all fandom will rally to the ballyard to wish him Bon Voyage, and success in his new field of endeavor."

IV STILES HALL (UNIVERSITY YMCA, BERKELEY,
CALIFORNIA)

Appointment to the Staff

RL: Your association with Stiles Hall started in about 1916, is that right?

Kingman: Yes. I had been playing pro ball in New York in '14 and '15 and taking a degree in physical education at Springfield College in Massachusetts. I decided not to continue my baseball career and when I got a wire from Stiles Hall's board president asking me if I was available to join the staff I decided to do it. I decided it was the sort of thing that I would like to take a shot at.

I was told it was Joel Hildebrand, the famous professor of chemistry at Cal who, as a member of the board, had made the motion to offer me the job. I have often twitted him since for it, for making such a mistake!

Then when the war came along I left Stiles Hall to be in the Army from the summer of '17 until early 1919, when I went back to Stiles. I was there for a year or two before going to China with the International Committee of the YMCA working with students in China until '27. In '27-'28 I studied in New York city at Columbia and then went back to Stiles Hall again in the fall of '28. I was on the staff along with the General Secretary who was a wonderful individual named E.L. Devendorf--he had been on the staff for years--and what a great guy he was. Ralph

Kingman: Scott, in charge of our International Relations Department, was also a respected and admirable person. He and my longtime friend, Allen C. Blaisdell, Director of International House, worked together on occasional projects.

In 1931 when I went down to the office one morning I got the terrible phone call that Devie had suddenly collapsed and died while shaving. Shortly after that the Stiles Hall board had to do something about who was going to take good old Devie's place. I imagined at the time it was with some trepidation that they asked me if I would serve as acting General Secretary.

RL: Why the trepidation?

Kingman: Oh, I dunno. Maybe I was wrong but I just had the feeling that some didn't think that I was experienced enough to handle it. But anyway, the Board took the chance.

RL: Did you have a reputation then from your years in China or elsewhere as a radical or a stirrer-up of trouble?

Kingman: Well, I doubt it. I don't think that was a factor, at all. They just thought probably, that I was still a pretty happy-go-lucky guy, interested in things other than religious persuasion, you know. I'm just kidding.

Maybe they really were uncertain, but anyway I became acting General Secretary. I was confirmed as General Secretary later.

About that time the University took over and tore down our building, our big red brick building, in order to build the men's gymnasium there at Dana Street. We moved into a little shack about a block away right near where the present Student Union is built. We were in there for many years. You would bump your head sometimes in our largest meeting room upstairs where the beams of the roof came down low. It wasn't much of a place but the fellows who came around developed a loyalty for the rathole that was amazing! So many letters that we have received from

Kingman: them, these fellows, testified to how much it had meant to them to be a part of the fellowship at Stiles Hall.

Aims of Stiles Hall

RL: What were the main things that you really felt that you wanted to do and that the students wanted to do in that period of the '30's up to the start of World War II?

Kingman: We put a lot of emphasis on certain important things, such as the kind of country that young fellows might want to try to build. One of them was that we build up a very strong international relations program and we developed a joint group with the YWCA, which was a great organization! The University YWCA, I always thought, was the best organization of its kind that I knew of in the country and Stiles was fortunate to be able to do certain things in cooperation with those people. They had a remarkable staff. As General Secretary, there was Lily Margaret Sherman. Then she finally was succeeded by Leila Anderson. These people were unbelievably capable and effective. They helped build up our work too.

Ann Kern later succeeded Leila and she was General Secretary of the University YWCA until this year, 1972. It's really been a unique succession of highly competent and inspiring people who led that organization. It was helpful to Stiles Hall, too, because we had a chance to work closely with them and learn a lot from them in the way of techniques and all that.

RL: Let me just pick that up--techniques in what sense? Working with students?

Kingman: Yes and the importance of giving the student a lot of leeway, a lot of opportunities for initiative and that sort of thing.

Let's see now. Then along came the Depression. That was in '29 when the Depression hit; but it

Kingman: affected our economy for quite a while, you know. I was placed on a committee by President [Robert Gordon] Sproul, along with three members of the faculty to divide up all the freshmen, our new freshmen men in their first year and to take an interest in them and see how we could help them.

Each of the four of us had about five hundred men that we were supposed to try to meet as soon as we could after they came onto the campus, and have them at our homes for dinner, get-togethers and things of that sort. That was where my wife did a terrific job. I remember one year she had dinners for about a thousand. We usually had faculty in with the students. But we got to know these young fellows and I found that some of them really didn't have enough money to get along. They were getting--there were individuals who were eating on five dollars a month--that sort of thing.

I remember one kid who was very hard up. I asked him about it. He said, well, his father had given him three dollars for spending money for the Spring semester and six weeks had passed and he still had half of it left. I gave a talk over one of the East Bay radio stations. The title was "Students Without Money."

Stiles Hall was finding jobs for a few fellows, but it was hard to do. Maybe we could find twenty, twenty-five jobs for fellows but there was need for much more than that. So we got very interested in the idea of a student co-op development.

By 1933 I had a very good staff. One of the best things I did was to recruit a guy named Bill [William J.] Davis, who had been a varsity basketball player at Cal and had had one year of law study. I talked him into coming on to the staff full time. Another outstanding man that I recruited for my staff was Francis Smart, an all-round athlete, and a very competent and attractive personality.

Student Cooperative Housing

Kingman: Some of the fellows began thinking about how they could work out something where they could live more inexpensively by getting together. There were some very capable students like Bill Spangle, Willis Hershey and Addison James who came around and began talking about whether they might be able to find somebody who would set up a little apartment house for them, a housemother who would do the cooking.

I remember that we got very interested in this idea--of what Stiles could do to stretch the finances of the students. With whatever help Stiles Hall could give them, those three students and others did succeed in setting up a little co-op with fourteen fellows and a housemother who did the cooking and so on. It was named Atherton Hall. Then we began figuring as to how to expand this and I assigned Fran Smart to a half-time job to work on the idea of trying to get a larger student co-op started that fall.

RL: In 1933?

Kingman: Yes. There's a lot that's been written about what happened because this was the start of the most successful student cooperative housing in any university in the country, culminating as it did a few months ago with the building of an additional student co-op near the campus, which cost over two million dollars.

RL: As I understand it, one of the reasons for the success of student cooperative housing has been that it was student initiative that started it and student cooperation and student wishes that have made it the sort of housing that appeals to students, and to some extent fits their budgets.

Kingman: That's absolutely right. The key thing--right from the start--has been that this particular University Student Cooperative Association has been student-run, student-controlled. Stiles Hall, of course, helped a great deal but always depended on the students

Kingman: primarily to do the thing. Bill Davis, a member of the Stiles staff, moved in as housefather for the new house, Barrington Hall, and he has been available to help ever since. Also he was on an advisory committee with two or three faculty people who helped him when the students needed help. Bill undoubtedly saved the life of it once or twice when they were in financial trouble.

But the real vital thing about this is that it's been a student self-help development and has made the student co-ops much different from the ordinary housing set-up. This new co-op at Haste and Dana which I mentioned, which houses around 270 students in the most modern type of construction, is also going to be completely run by the students, and it's going to probably have an immense influence on student housing all over the nation sooner or later.

RL: One of the things that interested me was to find that in this new building the only requirement for living there is that they be co-operative members. They don't have to work. Isn't this a change from the original student co-ops?

Kingman: I think it is different because up until now each co-op had its own kitchen and dining rooms, so that each student, each member was required to work--I think it was five hours a week--something like that. But this new development happens to be just apartments without central dining facilities so there isn't as much work to be done. The members take care of their own apartments of course but there won't be that large task needing student labor. But I prophesy that it will be taken care of awfully well and you won't find newspapers thrown on the lawns and all that sort of thing--the rundown condition that you see in many non-co-op housing units. The University Student Co-op Association has been a terrific success, right from the start.

RL: In going through your files I note one of the points that was made was that prior to 1933, it was almost impossible at UC Berkeley to have different races living together, with the exception of International

RL: House, which accommodated a very small proportion of the students.*

Kingman: Yes, that's right, the co-ops were very helpful in starting to break down racial prejudice and feelings early in the game. They played an important role in that.

Free Speech at Stiles

RL: What was your impression of the composition of the student body in the '30's? Were they mostly California kids?

Kingman: Yes, I'd say so, yes.

RL: And I think this changed somewhat didn't it after the war; you then got a much more varied student population?

Kingman: That's right. It was more of an undergraduate student body earlier and most of them were in-state people.

RL: Didn't Stiles Hall provide a forum for the expression of political opinions that was not then available on campus?

Kingman: Yes. Back in '32, about the same time we were starting trying to help these co-ops get going, there also developed a free speech problem at the University. For the first time there was a left-wing student group formed. I think it was called the Social Problems Club and its officers, some of them at least, were people from other parts--particularly from New York. I remember a couple were New Yorkers. They were not permitted to speak--to meet on campus. In those days the rules were pretty strict that there couldn't be any meetings on campus, political

*The Kingmans' files will eventually be deposited in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Kingman: or religious. It wasn't until years later, many years later that this rule was liberalized.

So these people--this little group particularly--didn't have any place to meet. At Stiles Hall we decided that they should have a place to hold their meetings and have speakers and discussions. We let them use Stiles Hall and after twenty-five years we were still under pressure by those who thought that it was not desirable to have meetings of this sort, and it wasn't our business to give them a Hyde Park. We got all kinds of criticism and the Community Chest which supported us was quite disturbed because of all the criticism that kept coming in, but they never tried to force us to discontinue it.

The free speech policy which Stiles Hall tried to develop was run by a student cabinet which set our rules. We had an advisory committee, of course, of older men, professors, business and other professional men who were of great help. They always stuck with the students and supported the free speech policy.

RL: Did you inaugurate the student government at Stiles Hall?

Kingman: Oh no, I wouldn't say that. No, no.

Stiles Hall, you know, was created, started somewhere around the 1870's and was always a pretty good organization.* I remember an outstanding man who was a General Secretary I would like to mention, Dr. Ben C. Cherrington, who was the top staff member when I first went there in 1916. He was a distinguished person and I was just a lucky guy to get into a set-up

*The University Bible Society was founded in March, 1878. On October 6, 1884, it resolved itself into The University of California Young Mens' Christian Association. In 1889, the YMCA was incorporated under the laws of California, and in 1892, the first Stiles Hall was constructed on the present site of the Harmon Gymnasium. "The Men and Program of Stiles Hall, the University YMCA 1884-1948" mimeo (University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

Kingman: with top notch people. When I went to Stiles Hall I was just interested in athletics, that's about all. But I came under the influence of people like those that I have mentioned. So I figure that I didn't make a mistake when I accepted that job.

RL: You were talking about the Social Problems Club --

Kingman: Yes, it was a very small club. There were some real left-wing kids in it, sure, some that said they were communists but they just held discussions. They had speakers. When you see what goes on on the campus now with hardly any restriction at all it must seem strange to think that for twenty-five years there Stiles had to sort of take the heat on that matter of the Hyde Park ideal.

I want to add that at times the University YWCA did also.

RL: Did you feel that you were providing a safety valve, as well as other important things--an opportunity for people to learn about other views?

Kingman: Yes, I think so to a certain extent. It is very desirable for people to be able to say what they think. One of the strongest supporters of our free speech policy was Chief of Police August Vollmer of the Berkeley Police Department. He was solidly behind us. I mean, when we would get a blast of criticism he would tell us, "Well, as long as you continue this policy you've certainly got my backing." So far as letting communists speak, as I remember it, he held that of course let them speak. He added that if communist speakers seemed in need of throat tablets he would willingly supply them!

RL: What about the right-wing? Did you have fascist, Nazi speakers?

Kingman: I don't recall that applications were ever made but all kinds of groups met at Stiles Hall. There were very conservative groups that met there sometimes. We were just a Hyde Park for student groups wanting and needing it.

Kingman: Mr. Anson Blake--the chairman of our board at Stiles--was a staunch free speech man and a tower of strength. It was his relative who originally gave the money for the large building we had--\$25,000, I think, was the gift at that time. He was head of our board of directors for fifty years!

RL: What was his profession?

Kingman: He was a businessman in the East Bay.

I remember once when the heat was on us particularly. Some organizations and individuals trying to force us to do away with open meetings. The California American Legion, in their monthly magazine, came out with a front page attack on Stiles Hall's policy. I saw it and there was to be an advisory board meeting the next day. I thought that I would show it to Mr. Blake. So I did. He read it and he laughed and didn't make any comment, and then at the board meeting the next day he didn't mention it. He really played a big role in the fact that a little organization like ours could, for a quarter of a century, stand up against the pressures and the constant opposition of certain individuals and organizations.

I was a charter member of the American Legion for some years beginning in 1919, and had some good friends in the Berkeley chapter who approved--in their local publication--what they chose to term my "Americanism." However when I succeeded in persuading the local post to pass an anti-war resolution, the state office declared that local posts could no longer publicize resolutions on their own.

Kingman Subpoenaed by Tenney's California
Un-American Activities Investigating Committee

RL: Weren't you subpoenaed once to appear before a meeting of Senator Jack B. Tenney's Un-American Activities Committee?

Kingman: Yes, in 1946. The first thing I knew about it was when I read about it in the morning San Francisco

Kingman: Chronicle, and saw my picture grouped with those of several known communists who were also summoned. The distinguished General Secretary of the University YWCA, Miss Lillie Margaret Sherman, was also included and pictured. I was amazed and disgusted. The first thing I did when I entered the hearing room was to pass out copies of a release I had prepared to the assembled members of the press strongly criticizing Tenney's methods. Though I had no desire to have an attorney present to aid me I particularly criticized the fact that this would not have been permitted. It is my recollection that within the year the rules were changed and witnesses were allowed to have counsel present.

RL: Why had you been subpoenaed?

Kingman: I was informed immediately. Apparently certain conservative individuals who disapproved of the two Cal Ys' free speech policies had complained to the Tenney Committee that they should not be permitted to use the name of the University of California in their titles. Stiles Hall was registered in Sacramento as "The University of California YMCA." Actually we had been calling our agency either Stiles Hall or the University YMCA for years. Subsequent to the hearing the Tenney Committee ruled that the "of California" should be removed from the official title. Our board of directors had no objection whatsoever, and its members considered the whole thing "a tempest in a teapot."

While on the stand Senator Tenney lit into me and Stiles Hall for permitting radical students to hold meetings in our building.

RL: How do you think the hearings affected your reputation?

Kingman: Well, I imagine that anyone who throughout his life-time attempts to be of a little help to the underdog, or to stand for some great principle, is likely to be considered by some to be radical or mistaken. Actually I have always favored constitutional democratic government, and have always taken a dim view of authoritarian forms whether communist or any other. In answer to your question I felt that the Tenney hearing at which I was a witness, and in which

Kingman: a great many people were apparently interested, turned out to be highly salutary for me personally. When Senator Tenney launched into his strong attack on me both the Vice Chairman of his Committee, Senator Randal Dickey, and the Committee's Chief Counsel, R.E. Combs, came vigorously and effectively to my defense. Mr. Combs actually broke in while Tenney was castigating me to state categorically "I can make a very brief statement for the record. We have no information in the files, nor have we any intimation from any source that Mr. Kingman has ever been remotely suspected of any connections with any subversive group of any character. Quite the contrary."

Since everything turned out so satisfactorily for me maybe I was pouring it on a bit when I got out another news release a short time later. My statement said in part:

"State Senator Jack Tenney's criticism of the campus Y in Berkeley for defending free speech for University students, more popularly known as Stiles Hall, appeared the same week that the California Alumni Monthly published an article about this same Y, titled 'Citadel of Democracy.'

This story tells how the University YMCA, more popularly known as Stiles Hall, has won the respect and affection of many thousands of Californians by its forthright and patriotic support of freedom of speech, of racial justice, of fairness and magnanimity and the other American ideals and traditions which have combined to make our nation great.

In this temporary period of hysteria when America is being urged by the Tenneys and Rankins to sell its birthright of freedom, and to emulate the suppressive measures of totalitarian governments, I am proud to be connected with such a YMCA.

As a ninth generation American I heartily disagree with Mr. Tenney's whole implication that the United States is so weak a nation that

Kingman: we must surrender the basic democratic civil liberties which our forebears fought to perpetuate.

Our democracy still thrives on the clash of differing ideas, and still may profit from criticism by the humblest citizen. The United States is not a weak nation. And it is by making democracy work at home that it can best assure the continuance of its proud place in the world."

Working for Integration

RL: I guess one of the problems you had was segregation of all sorts. The membership of Stiles was deeply involved with problems of racial justice, wasn't it?

Kingman: Yes, that's right. Stiles, right from the start had a completely open policy. We had student officers and board members, non-whites and non-Caucasians, as early as I can remember. We, of course, worked continually with students and with student cooperation oftentimes, to make this more prevalent.

I remember for example--not as a Stiles Hall representative but in order to help the city recreation department, I worked to desegregate the summer program of Berkeley High School swimming pool. This was back in '31 or '32. Negroes were not permitted in. You had to be a white to go into the Berkeley High swimming pool, you know! I worked with Walter Gordon on that--he was our attorney.

RL: He's black, isn't he?

Kingman: Yes.

RL: And a superb athlete, as I recall.

Kingman: Yeah, a great athlete. Yes, Walter Gordon had a great influence on the campus. I guess he was about the first California athlete chosen All-American on Walter Camp's teams way back in the '20's.

RL: Walter Camp? That was football?

Kingman: Yes, football. That was where, I think, the choosing of all-star teams started, when a man named Walter Camp picked the All-American players every year.

What we did was to insist with the city authorities that the discrimination against the kids on the basis of color was quite inappropriate in Berkeley. The answer was that they were afraid attendance would drop and there would be a financial loss. So we insisted that they should make an experiment of opening it to all, regardless of race, keeping very close records of attendance and financial return and keeping track of the weather--whether it was cold weather and so on. So they agreed to do that and plans to file suit were dropped. It turned out that there was bigger attendance and that ended the discrimination in Berkeley in those pools.

Another example of what we did was when Dr. Newman, a black dentist, moved into a house up there in El Cerrito--just the other side of Berkeley--rocks were thrown through his window and so on. We were also working with Walt Gordon at that time. We got a little gathering together of the neighbors who didn't like this type of opposition to the new owners just because of their color and gradually worked it out so that Dr. Newman and his family were able to stay in the house and live there for quite a few years.

RL: When you say "we," how much did this have to do with Stiles Hall?

Kingman: This is not a good example of a Stiles Hall activity except that this was the sort of thing that staff members were doing; whenever we could we would bring the students in and keep them well-acquainted and well-informed of what was going on.

RL: Were they involved in the Berkeley High swimming pool negotiations?

Kingman: No, except that they were kept informed of just what was happening. I'll give examples later of when the

Kingman: students got involved, too. But I am talking now about staff involvement in controversial issues over the years.

The student cabinet at Stiles would often take a position and write a letter or send a communication to the people involved in such cases, supporting doing away with discrimination or in support of free speech.

Let me just read you a couple of--two or three paragraphs here from fellows who were involved in this sort of thing all the way through and who, if not themselves doing it, were part of the Stiles Hall policymaking group which involved itself as much as it could and gave a lot of thought to it.

For example, a fellow named Jim Fowle:

"You have heard again and again the old stories of men who swear by Stiles Hall." (This is from a letter.) "For me it has meant many things. One of the chief things I think is the source of inspiration which it has provided. My one consolation is that Stiles will be there for me to return to after getting out of the Army. When I read your letter telling of the boys spread all over the world, it makes me feel grateful that I have been a part of an organization which has as fine a record as Stiles. It is especially meaningful when I think that men of such varying backgrounds and opinions as I have seen there can come out with such a sense of extreme loyalty to the place, or perhaps it is loyalty to a set of ideals or someone who represents those ideals to them. It is certainly unique in the devotion that it inspires, whether it be to person, ideals or whatever."

And here is Charlie Blake. He was one of our student leaders. He went into the Navy during the war and was an officer on a battleship near Japan when he wrote this letter.

"I certainly begin to realize what a completely unique thing the Y is. I regret very much not

Kingman:

being able to join the staff. It was one of the things that I had looked forward to and hoped to be able to do. I really wanted that chance. Recently, I sometimes feared that the things I was learning at the Y were things that might slip from me under pressures. But I am becoming even more conscious of the fact that I never will lose them. They seem more fundamental and basic now than ever before and have most certainly changed the whole course of what I want to try to do. The more I think of it, the greater I think the Y is.

It is hard to believe in a Christian world right now when I am being deliberately taught the killer philosophy. But it is still possible to dream of a world where men stand together as brothers over the world.

Right now I am in charge of anti-aircraft machine guns on board, a far cry from the Y to the business of killing. I am keeping my fingers crossed."

He was killed a month later in a kamikaze attack, the Japanese pilot and plane plunging into his ship.

There were hundreds and hundreds of fellows that wrote us during the war. Most of the letters came while I was with FEPC and Bill Davis was acting Executive Secretary of Stiles Hall. Incidentally, I would like to mention that quite a few of them would comment on the new outlook and inspiration that they had derived from attending a student Y conference at Asilomar during Christmas holidays. Hundreds would assemble to hear the best possible religious and socially-concerned leaders in the nation, for discussion and a lot of fun. It was at one of these--back in 1910--that I made a fresh start. Because of changing times, attitudes and interests these conferences had to be discontinued some years ago.

I recall that Dyke Brown, founder and principal of the distinguished Athenian School at Mount Diablo, California, stated years ago that the week at the annual Asilomar Conference had been worth as much to him as a semester in college.

Kingman: Another Californian, Robert McNamara, later Secretary of Defense under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, attended the Asilomar Conference as a member of the Stiles Hall cabinet. Incidentally, we saw him and his lovely wife, Margaret, who had been active in the University YWCA as a student here, while we were in Washington.

And speaking of Asilomar which is, as you know, on the Monterey peninsula, I am reminded of a special friend that we used to see whenever we were in that lovely area.

RL: Who was that?

Kingman: It was "Doc" Ricketts, who was made famous by John Steinbeck in Cannery Row. Ruth and I became very fond of him and spent many a happy session in his bizarre living quarters, lapping up beer with him and his friends, listening to his marvelous record collection and philosophizing over the quirks and dreams of Homo Sapiens.

In fact, we and Doc took such a liking to each other that he urged us to buy a lot right next to one he owned on the top of Huckleberry Hill, high above and south of Cannery Row with a marine view on three sides, pine trees on the other. His idea was that we should someday build a small retirement home next to the one he was planning there. My wife and I did buy the lot. But after Doc's tragic death a few years later, we sold it. As I remember it, we used the money to get our Lobby started.

FAIR BEAR: Raising Student Wages

RL: I guess one of the very important things that your students and you worked on in the '30's was to improve student wages for work that they did. What about "Fair Bear"?

Kingman: Student wages were pretty low even before the giant depression of 1929-30, and they dropped lower. When I was in college at Pomona I remember well that as a

Kingman: student I worked mostly for fifteen cents per hour. One of the college's dormitories was built while I was an upper classman, and I got a job during the summer vacation as an assistant bricklayer; I carried bricks up a ladder as high as the fourth or fifth floor. Los Angeles was a notorious open-shop city then--labor unions were almost non-existent. My pay at that time was seventeen and a half cents per hour.

In reply to your question, as I remember what happened at Cal, the Associated Students government created an organization "Fair Bear" to do all it could to improve student wages. And it achieved good success. Unless my memory fails me the prevailing wage of approximately twenty-five or thirty cents per hour soon went up considerably. Fair Bear set reasonably higher wage standards and most members of the student body would not take less.

RL: Was this a cooperative effort between Stiles Hall and the Associated Students?

Kingman: I think I would be right--thinking back forty years--that there was no official relationship. Stiles, in the early '30's, was concentrating pretty intensely on getting its free speech policy into working shape, and helping get the student co-ops started. I don't remember but it would be likely that hard-up fellows at Stiles were active in Fair Bear.

RL: To what extent were individual University administrative people sympathetic and cooperative in such matters?

Kingman: During the forty years--off and on--that I was associated with Stiles Hall we received very strong support from many professors and by quite a few of the administrators too.

President Bob Sproul, who was a Stiles Hall officer as a student and later a valuable member of our Board for many years, didn't let us down during controversies where his help was needed. His successor Clark Kerr was also a Board member, and also a tower of strength for our organization. Yes, there were many top individuals in the University over

Kingman: the years who proved their friendship, particularly when the going got tough, both financially and with advice and support during controversies.

Clark Kerr, incidentally, was very helpful when at the request of the Cal student co-ops in the 1960's I lobbied in Congress in behalf of campus co-ops and their need for low-interest federal loans. As UC President he wrote a strong endorsement of the student co-ops in Berkeley which I passed around to key people in the Senate and House; it was extremely helpful in proving to the legislators that the top administration at UC was favorable to the USCA.

The Japanese-American Student Relocation Council

RL: When all the Japanese-Americans were evacuated from the West Coast, didn't you help, along with people in Stiles Hall, to get some of these uprooted students admitted to colleges in other parts of the country which were not covered by the evacuation ruling?

Kingman: Yes. There was a great interest in Stiles, the YW and the regional Y set-up on the West Coast in trying to do something for these students. All of the Japanese-American students we knew in different colleges on the West Coast were completely up in the air. They didn't know what was going to happen to them.

I made some notes at the time. A group of us met--it was on March 21, 1942, in Berkeley. Our purpose was to try to figure out some way to help these men and women who were in universities and colleges like the University of California where we had a lot of them, and who knew they were going to be evacuated very shortly. This would absolutely break up their opportunity to continue their education where they were. At this initial meeting there were regional officers of the YM and YW and also officers of the two Y's here at Cal and representatives of several individual churches in Berkeley.

Kingman: We found immediately that there was five hundred dollars available from the regional Y set-up and it was decided that we ought to employ an executive just as fast as we could. We were meeting then over the old Varsity Cafe down at Bancroft and Telegraph. I remember we were in a little room up there and when this question came up I spoke up and said, "I know a fellow here at Cal who, if we could get him, would be great. He's Joseph Conard, a Quaker, who is taking graduate work here at the University."

Those in the room said, "Why don't you go try to phone him right now?" So I did. I got to a phone and was lucky enough to reach him, and in five or ten minutes I was back and told them that Conard was greatly interested, and that we might be able to get him on the job almost immediately. And that was the way that it worked out.

At that meeting, I remember, I was asked to serve as Treasurer. We named the new organization The Student Relocation Council, and got into immediate action. We decided to meet at the University YW, here in Berkeley. In the first couple of months, I note here in these minutes, there were seventy-five students who were promptly relocated on other campuses, right off the bat.

I remember that as Treasurer I very shortly was writing out checks for American-Japanese scattered in different parts of the nation.

Then during the summer--this was '42--we decided to move our little office over to San Francisco to have it in the [American] Friends Service Committee building. Within a short time there in the summer and fall of '42 our staff had increased to twenty-three, expenses running about \$2,500 a month.

RL: One of the things that astonishes me in going through some of these files is to see how much work you did with so little money. Even considering that the purchasing power of the dollar was much, much higher then, it still seems to me an extraordinary accomplishment.

Kingman: Yes, that's right because there was such a lot of the

Kingman: work done by volunteers who would come into the offices and help in one way or in another.

Then later on there was a national committee formed and the head office was moved back to Philadelphia, where the Friends Service Committee and its personnel took over the major responsibility on the thing. At the time that this move to Philadelphia was made in February of '43, our little office out here had had applications from 26,000 of these Nisei students from all over the country. They had applied for the opportunities and about 1,035 had already been placed, according to the records of this West Coast office.

RL: An extraordinary accomplishment!

Can you explain why some colleges were extremely hospitable, like St. Louis, for instance, while the Ivy League was poorly represented?

Kingman: No, I can't explain that. I know that some colleges and universities which had federal grants for different studies and experiments and so on, particularly those having to do with military developments in connection with the war, that the regents or the ruling bodies in some of these colleges felt that it might be resented if they took in people of Japanese ancestry. That was the theory that was supposed to account somewhat for the colleges that didn't open opportunities for them. I am not sure how much that amounted to.

RL: How much did you have to do with organizing and encouraging student counselors to go out to the camps from Berkeley? I remember that this occurred in December, 1942, when a delegation of students went out to the camp at Topaz, Utah.

Kingman: That's right. We had some students from Stiles Hall who did visit Topaz. And of course my wife was very active in helping Japanese-Americans. She went to Topaz and directed a Christmas pageant, Van Dyke's The Other Wise Man which of course was greatly appreciated by the hundreds of evacuees who were living there. Later, she was Executive Secretary of

Kingman: the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play.*

Stiles Hall took a great interest all the way through. We used to get out a weekly bulletin and there were items about the evacuees and how they were getting along and about individuals and so on, oh, week after week and month after month. Many things were done, like sending them things that they needed and encouragement and friendly statements.

RL: Can you comment at all on the state of mind of some of the individual Japanese-American students? There is a very good book that you lent me--O'Brien's book--on the Nisei.**

Kingman: Ruth and I have had many letters from those people. They'll be in the files which I'll turn over to the Bancroft Library some time; that'll give people a chance to study them. In fact, Rosemary, you have read one letter in my files of a University of California fellow who was admitted to a university somewhere in Texas. He was treated terribly by security people who felt he was dangerous. It was a tremendous ordeal that he went through and it became pretty widely known.

RL: You got a tremendous number of letters, it seems to me, at Stiles Hall from these young men in the camps and later from the Army. It impressed me tremendously to think how much of a support it seemed to be to them--and also what a burden it was on the Stiles Hall staff to deal with this correspondence.

Kingman: Well, there was vital interest on the part of the people at Stiles Hall because these were some of our best friends who had been pulled out of the West Coast--which I always felt was a great mistake. It

*See footnote p. 1

**Robert W. O'Brien, The College Nisei (Palo Alto, Calif., Pacific Books) 1949, 165pp.

Kingman: shouldn't have happened to them at all. They all proved to be loyal, of course. There was never any proven evidence of the necessity of this evacuation.

I remember a fellow like my dear friend Yori Wada, and Bob Akamatsu--Bob was on my Stiles Hall staff at the time he was evacuated. They, and numerous others, had been our student officers. The chap in Texas I just mentioned wrote us and sent us his feelings about the whole thing--it is terrific to read. The fact that these young people continued their loyalty to this country in spite of some of the bad situations that developed in some places where they went--in this Texas place, for example--should be long remembered. It was pathetic and heart-rending, but after it was all over and they came back, the Nisei students who had been through it helped to create a library in Stiles Hall as a gesture of appreciation for its support and encouragement.

RL: It was a great accomplishment to have enabled so many of them to continue their education, and extraordinary what so many of them did afterwards.

Kingman: They were brave and strong and really came through. My wife and I just happened to be lucky enough to be so close to the events that, when we celebrated our 50th wedding anniversary recently, we had a letter from Mike Masaoka who for the past thirty years has been the very effective director of the Japanese American Citizens League lobby. When Japanese-Americans were so unjustly and unnecessarily evacuated from their homes my wife, as I think I mentioned earlier, became the Executive Secretary of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play which fought the very effective and successful battle to restore their just rights. In 1964 the JACL National Convention in Detroit honored her, along with Norman Thomas and Roger Baldwin. Mike commented in his letter "You two have done so much for us Japanese-Americans that we can neither begin to repay nor even summarize your contributions...But speaking for myself and thousands whom I know in JACL, I can say that without the help of the Kingmans ours would have been a much more

Kingman: difficult and perhaps unhappy outcome.*

The Loyalty Oath Controversy

RL: Harry, you discussed several instances when the Stiles Hall students, their advisory board, and the staff members, worked together to try to solve certain social issues. You mentioned the UC loyalty oath controversy in 1949 to 1950--can you tell me what happened?

Kingman: Yes, I'll try to talk about that. It was certainly something that shook up the University of California to its depths. What happened was that the Regents came out with a decision that in order for faculty to be reemployed (I think this was in '49), they must sign a special loyalty oath, an addition to the regular loyalty oath that had been required before. Also, this special loyalty oath, regarding their attitude toward communism, was something that was over and above the loyalty oaths that were required of the federal and state officers and members of the armed forces.

It goes back to 1940, I think, when the California Regents first announced their policy of excluding communists from faculty membership. Well, then when this new special clause was proposed and in fact instituted by the Regents, in June of '49, my very much admired friend, Professor of Psychology, Edward C. Tolman and somewhere around thirty other professors, including many other truly distinguished scholars, were lost to the University.

RL: How do you mean they were lost?

Kingman: Because they would not sign this new special oath. The discussion and arguments went on for a long time.

*See Appendix 5 for review of Stiles Hall's work in The Pacific Citizen.

RL: Why would they not sign? Were any of them suspected of being communists?

Kingman: No, none of them. It was stated at the time that none of these men who refused to sign the oath was said by anyone to be communists.

The Regents themselves were split down the middle. I think the final vote where they voted that men who didn't sign wouldn't be reemployed was twelve to ten.

I remember that very early in the conflict, I happened to be in Sacramento, and I ran across my good friend, Governor Earl Warren, who of course was an[ex officio] Regent. This was very early in the game, and I was impressed and delighted to learn that, as he told me when we were walking down the street, he was against the added oath. Then later on the Governor was quoted as stating in a press conference that he held, that he didn't think the Regents' action was "an efficient way" to bar communists. He was quoted at this press conference as saying that the faculty already takes an oath of loyalty which is universally understood to be a complete oath of loyalty.

So, both he and President Sproul, when this final vital vote came, voted "no" on the question of not renewing the contracts of non-signers.

This thing went on for more than a year, I guess, with terrific feelings, pro and con, about it.

I wrote a letter expressing my opinion early in the game. It was a letter to editors of newspapers, and was picked up rather widely. Bill Davis, my right hand man on the Stiles staff (he's still there incidentally--a high class person) was vitally interested in this. He and I talked with faculty people, students, Stiles Hall advisory board members, the student cabinet. So, quite a bit of stuff went out from Stiles Hall by these different groups on our feelings about it. Let me just read from one of the letters that I wrote about the Regents' decision. This was early in 1949.

Kingman: "The Board of UC Regents is being respectfully urged by its faculty, a group whose loyalty is well known to those who are fully informed, to withdraw the proposed new loyalty oath. What will result if the new requirement were rescinded? The action would receive world-wide publicity. The willingness of the trustees of a great state university to adapt their action to faculty insights and sensibilities respecting academic freedom, would make a substantial impression. I believe it would enhance California's prestige even more, and famous scholars and promising students would be attracted...

The Board of Regents, which has helped guide the University so wisely over the years, seems to me to be facing a very important decision. It can accede to the request of the faculty with credit to itself and to bring added honor to the University."

RL: . Could you discuss further the objections by faculty members and others to the special oath?

Kingman: Well, there were certainly varied replies to that question. I'd like to read further, if I may, more of what I wrote early in '49 after talking with a lot of faculty members and other vitally interested individuals.

"One of the finest contributions of America to civilization has been our loyalty to the ideal of individual freedom. With this basic concept under withering attack, universities and their faculties are called on to be a first line of defense.

Those who established the new oath at California, men who have helped build the University to its impressive stature, undoubtedly intended that it should strengthen, not undercut, academic freedom. Without impugning the motives of those responsible, however, it has been necessary for many to differ. The San Francisco Chronicle put it

Kingman: this way in an editorial:

'In our judgment, the revised oath extracts no greater indication of loyalty than the traditional oath. If one is loyal to the Constitution, that's the ultimate in American loyalty. The simple, straight-forward thing to do would be to strip the oath back to its essentials at the next meeting of the Board of Regents.'

A partitive and persistent affirmation of American traditional concepts of freedom, would seem to be a state university's best defense against illiberal pressures in the state capital...

The type of oath which is at issue has been opposed not only by many hundreds of UC faculty members, but by such leaders as [James Bryant] Conant of Harvard, [General Dwight D.] Eisenhower of Columbia, [Charles] Seymour of Yale. The opposition by California faculty has been widely welcomed and acclaimed. If this faculty position prevails, it will have been the first victory under similar circumstances. An eastern college president says that many eyes are on California, and that such a victory will turn the tide nicely on behalf of academic freedom...

Admittedly, it's not always easy to determine where the first stand against a dangerous trend should be made. The large measure of the unanimity of the UC faculty in the present case seems an impressive indication that the present loyalty oath merits a stand.

In the field of academic freedom, it seems reasonable to hold that it is the faculty that is most sensitive and best fitted to carry the chief responsibility for such matters as the appointment of new members of the faculty, of faculty advancement and faculty tenure. And if this is true, it would seem that the faculty should be granted delegated authority in matters pertaining to academic freedom.

Kingman: At a critical period in the history of human liberty, when many institutions are watching the University of California to determine what their own course shall be, it is good that our faculty has sought to defend what seems to be their rightful prerogatives in the field of academic freedom. They have reminded Americans that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.' Within the broad perspective of history, they will probably prove to be on the winning side."

That's, as I say, something I wrote after talking with lots of faculty people and others on the thing, and was written very early in the dispute, which went on and on.

RL: How did Stiles Hall become officially involved in the controversy?

Kingman: I made some notes to which I'll refer as to how Stiles Hall got in on this, because I think it's illustrative of how Stiles Hall did get involved in some of these social issues, and the way in which they did it.

As I've already mentioned, Bill Davis and I began talking a great deal with all kinds of people, particularly members of our board and members of our student cabinet, and so it was in September, I think, of 1949 that the subject was placed on the agenda of the first cabinet meeting of that semester. The issues were discussed in several subsequent cabinet meetings, and we had a committee organization, which was called the Freedom and Security Group, which worked particularly on freedom of expression. They had meetings on the loyalty oath in which speakers presented arguments on opposing sides. Discussions were also held at a meeting of the advisory board where the student officers could learn the viewpoints of the older members of the Stiles Hall fellowship.

In the fall of '49, the cabinet steering committee recommended that the cabinet take a position publicly opposing the proposed negative type of political loyalty oath for the faculty. Because so many Stiles people had already expressed themselves on the matter, it was unnecessary to poll the membership

Kingman: by mail, as is done occasionally.

The recommendation did not pass at the first cabinet meeting because the cabinet bylaws contained rules to the effect that a controversial issue may be decided at a meeting in which it is first presented only if the vote is unanimous. "Any subject shall be deemed controversial if even one member requests it. In any subsequent meeting, the cabinet may not take action in a controversial field, unless three-fourths of the members present approve. Even after such confirming vote, the minority shall be protected by having the right to call for additional discussion in their revote. All controversial issues must be written up and posted on the cabinet bulletin board during the week preceding a proposed action."

So, you can see that when Stiles Hall took action, it was done very carefully. In this case on the loyalty oath, after further investigation and discussion, the student cabinet agreed on a resolution couched in conciliatory terms, opposing the loyalty oath with emphasis on the Christian grounds for such opposition and mailed copies to the press and to key individuals in the controversy. It was a pretty strong statement. Of course, since the University Y is off-campus and it receives no subsidy from the University, it is relatively free of some of the pressures which the Regents could exert on others connected with the University in any way.

Well, anyway this is an example of the cabinet acting officially on a very hot issue.

RL: What was the follow-up to this action, because, as you say, the oath controversy went on for years?

Kingman: That's right. Here is an open letter which the cabinet sent to all the Regents. I won't read it, but it went to each Regent with a cover letter. Bill Davis and I followed up by talking with all kinds of people, like the Governor and some of the Regents personally, and President Sproul, who was a member of our advisory board. We wrote letters to the editor and we got the Student Y Regional Council (I think the meeting was in Los Angeles) to pass a resolution on the thing, which was also publicized as much as possible.

- RL: Did you personally or Stiles Hall membership in general get a lot of flak from people who were for the oath?
- Kingman: Yes, we did. I have letters here in my files from people who were jumping on us for being unrealistic in regard to the dangers of communism and all that.
- RL: Did they try to apply financial pressure against Stiles Hall by putting pressure on the Community Chest? I remember, in the thirties, that that device was used.
- Kingman: Well, I don't remember exactly what happened on that. There were letters written to the Community Chest, sure, saying that one of its agencies was out of line on this thing. But, as in past instances, the Community Chest stood by its guns; it said that the agencies had freedom to do what they thought was the right thing to do. And our board always stood firm, and it didn't panic, even though there were times when it looked a little bad for the institution financially.
- RL: It's hard to recall now the atmosphere of fear and phobia that was about in those days of the cold war and the McCarthy period. Can you remember any particular instances of something that would illustrate this atmosphere during the loyalty oath episode.
- Kingman: Well, as I mentioned before, the campus, particularly the faculty, was very upset because for some of the most important faculty people there was a question--am I going to have to take a course [of action] here which will mean I have to sever my relations with the University? Or will my pay stop? Eventually, there were only around thirty or so who refused to sign, but there were hundreds of people who signed with great reluctance, and they lost sleep over it, believe me. I remember, for example, that there was a fund raised of about \$35,000 to which I contributed and I think Bill Davis did too, to help faculty members who were not reemployed. This was made available to help them during the period when they might be out of a job. So, for more than a year this intense loyalty oath matter was on the minds

Kingman: of many people, at first here in Berkeley, at UCLA, and increasingly all over the country. There was great concern felt at other major universities, as to whether the UC faculty was going to give in on something which seemed so important.

I personally was proud of the stubborn and courageous fight that our faculty, in addition to those who refused to sign, maintained. Among those who to my own personal knowledge did well--in my opinion--were Joel Hildebrand, Aaron Gordon, Wendell Stanley, E.T. Grether, Robert Brode, George P. Adams, James D. Hart, Monroe Deutsch, Will Dennes, Frank Newman, John Hicks, Van Dusen Kennedy, Clark Kerr, Milton Chernin, Malcolm Davisson, Philip Griffin, Charlie Camp. Of course there were a lot of others who doubtless would be named also by insiders better informed than I.

In the files which I shall eventually turn over to Bancroft Library on the Loyalty Oath controversy and other matters discussed in these Oral History Office interviews, the full minutes of all UC Regent discussions and actions concerning the entire Loyalty Oath conflict--which were courteously mailed to me at my request--will be included.

Stiles Hall Takes Issue in Hollywood With the House Un-American Activities Committee's Censorship Attempt

RL: Your files show that in 1947 Washington's House Un-American Activities Committee under Congressman [Parnell] Thomas investigated Hollywood's movie making and movie stars because of alleged radicalism. How did you and Stiles become involved?

Kingman: Well, little old Stiles Hall had become sensitive, to say the least, in respect to constitutional freedom. Some of its leaders were disturbed when HUAC's chairman, Congressman Thomas, began holding hearings. Great pressure was being exerted on the movie companies and some of the famous actors and actresses to discontinue making pictures which were deemed too liberal or radical. Even a great motion

Kingman: picture like Gentleman's Agreement was under fire.

RL: Wasn't that about anti-semitism?

Kingman: Yes, it had to do with anti-semitism. But anyway, there was manifestly a major attempt to dictate to Hollywood what sort of thing they could get out. Well, such controversial issues would come up at Stiles Hall in our student cabinet meetings of fifteen or twenty fellows, who were given an opportunity to discuss any question they wanted to bring up in these meetings. Sometimes it was felt there should be letters written or some kind of action taken, and in this case they voted to look into the matter.

Stiles did try to influence public opinion on all kinds of things. So, the student cabinet felt there should be an attempt to encourage the moving picture producers and the companies not to be too much influenced by the hearings which the Thomas Committee put on where certain individual actors and actresses were subpoenaed. There was insistence by the Committee that some of them should be fired. I remember the student cabinet got so interested in it that I volunteered to go down to Hollywood and talk with some of the actors and their supporters. So I did.

I had grown up in Southern California, and I always took an interest in the film industry. I knew a lot of the actors and actresses like Freddy [Frederick] March, Florence Eldridge, his wife, Roscoe Karns and Bing Crosby. So--I went down.

The people in the industry who didn't want to be pushed around by this Committee had formed an organization--what was that called?

RL: The Committee for the First Amendment, wasn't it?

Kingman: Yes, that's right. Probably this was early in '48. I went directly to Hollywood studios upon arrival and looked up some of my friends there. Freddy March and his wife were very upset over what was going on--and Freddy asked me if I would go in his place to the

Kingman: meeting that night of the Committee for the First Amendment, which was being chaired by John Huston, the great director. I was delighted. It was interesting, very interesting. A number of the people were there, and they were determined not to be snowed under by this thing. They called on me to say a few words, and so I told them that Stiles Hall--I smiled--was stirred up and was going to try to help--and I remember that after I spoke, the little movie actor, Peter Lorre, remember him? --

RL: Oh, he was wonderful, just wonderful.

Kingman: Right after I spoke, Lorre got up and said "We've got to fight like hell." And they did fight, and of course some of them got fired, suspended, even blacklisted, but most finally won out pretty well. I have a letter here--let's see, this was a letter that I got from John Huston, April '48 --

I had written him about some aspect of the controversy and he replied in part:

"Let me hasten to say the allegations made at the Thomas Committee hearing that the Committee for the First Amendment was a communist front organization are entirely false. The original founders were William Wyler, Philip Dunn, Norman Corwin, Billy Wilder, and myself. We five collaborated on every written line, I believe, from the original manifesto to the last paid advertisement appearing in the trade papers. We were also entirely responsible for the trip of our people to Washington, and for the various radio programs.

And you have my word for it that none of them were even sympathetic to Communism. I am able to speak with such complete authority, as I have been close friends with all the men named over a good many years. We were simply outraged by the spirit which animated the Thomas Committee and by its perverted use of the powers of Congress. Please feel free to use this information any way you see fit. If there's anything more you'd like

Kingman: to know about the Committee for the First Amendment, please let me know. I promise you there'll be no delay this time in my response. I'm delighted that you and your wife were pleased with the Treasure of the Sierra Madre and I sincerely appreciate your comment on the direction."

RL: I read that the Stiles Hall cabinet got out a letter to the presidents of major motion picture companies urging them to support the Bill of Rights and to continue a free screen. It said that the public would go to motion pictures that had merit and that in a short time audiences would react unfavorably to the attempted censorship of the Thomas Committee. I notice that the text was picked up on the front page of The Christian Science Monitor, and I suspect that if that happened it was also published in other newspapers throughout the country.

Kingman: Yes, it got some attention.

RL: Now how did you manage to get such good publicity?

Kingman: The Stiles student cabinet took a lot of interest, as I have indicated, in the Hollywood controversy. As I remember it we mailed out copies of the cabinet letter, signed by student president Tom Moore, to certain newspapers in different parts of the nation. Let me quote part of it:

"The student cabinet of the University YMCA, Berkeley, is taking considerable interest in what appears to be the attempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee and some of its supporters to gain a position of censorship over the productions and personnel of the moving picture industry. We have noted expressions of concern by much of the American press, as well as by spokesmen for the industry, such as Eric Johnston and Paul McNutt. Because of the many years of support of our organization for the Bill of Rights, we are alarmed at what's happening. We wish to express our regret that your company, along with the other studios, have, according to newspaper reports, felt it necessary to accede to the dictates of the

Kingman: Thomas Committee. As part of the American movie-going public, we believe that your actions concern us also. If the great moving picture industry surrenders its freedom to do an honest job, we shall all be harmed thereby. Because of the atmosphere of fear which the Thomas Committee has whipped up, we can understand your action and we sympathize with you. However, we and many other Americans do not believe it necessary for you to capitulate so easily. Judging from past developments in our nation's life, it seems likely that the Un-American Activities Committee and its allies cannot sustain their pressure for more than a brief period. We beg you not to be easily bluffed." Hmm--

RL: That's a good statement.

Kingman: One more paragraph:

"Inimical as we are to totalitarian or undemocratic ideologies, whether they be communist or any other, the members of the University YMCA cabinet hold that the Thomas Committee's attempt to control the industry should be disregarded. We will attend movies that have merit if you'll give us the opportunity and try to get many others to do likewise. We hope that you'll continue to deal even more frequently than in the past with controversial subjects, which will be portrayed in a convincing positive and constructive American way."

Well, this was sort of an example of a lot of the issues that the Stiles Hall cabinet and staff worked on together.

RL: One point I would like to put in about the Hollywood question--at the time these issues came up, wasn't it so that most of the members of your cabinet were veterans?

Kingman: Yes, that's right, that was just a couple of years after the war ended, and most of them were ex-service men and had proved their Americanism in a sense. They had, so to speak, paid their dues.

Combating Racial Segregation in Professional
Golf Tournaments

RL: As another example of Stiles students and staff working together on controversial matters you told me about attempts to end discrimination by the Professional Golfers Association, the PGA. Would you like to cover that?

Kingman: Yes, it's rather a lengthy story but I would like to get it in. In 1948 when a PGA tournament was held in Richmond, California, a black pro from Los Angeles, Bill Spiller, was turned back at the first tee because of his race. I went over to Richmond as soon as I heard about it and discussed the matter with the two or three members of the PGA who were playing in the tournament, and also with Spiller who was very unhappy. Several of the top white players in the tournament told me they didn't agree with the rule, and advised me to phone the PGA president who was then in Georgia. At Stiles Hall student officers approved the idea. I made the Georgia phone call and among the arguments which I used was that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (the NAACP) intended to sue the PGA unless it opened its tournaments to black players.

The PGA president seemed very concerned and gave me the impression that at a coming PGA board meeting he would attempt to end the problem. As I remember it there was but a short interval before it was announced that future tournaments would be open. Black players were soon competing in numerous PGA-sponsored tournaments. I think I remember that the Stiles cabinet commended the PGA for its action.

RL: But that wasn't the end of it, was it?

Kingman: You're so right.

Suddenly and unexpectedly in 1952 the problem re-emerged very dramatically; again Bill Spiller was in the news, along with Joe Louis, former heavyweight boxing champ, who was a good amateur golfer. At the

Kingman: San Diego golf tournament under the auspices of the PGA Joe Louis was permitted to tee off but Bill Spiller was turned back.

I was shook up. As I remember it I rushed down to Stiles to determine whether such students as I could reach thought that something should be done. The reaction I got was "Harry, you better fly down there, pronto." I phoned the offices of the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union and told them I was going down to San Diego. I was requested to be sort of an unofficial representative of theirs also.

Rosemary, what happened when I flew south was quite complex and involved. I want to get the lengthy story straight and will occasionally refer to notes that I took at the time.

I arrived at the San Diego Country Club at 11 a.m. on January 17, 1952, and Joe Louis and several of the officers of the PGA were already out on the course and in the tournament. So I walked out and found Joe Louis on the sixth tee. With him were Horton Smith, the president of the PGA, and Leland Gibson, a member of the PGA executive committee.

Horton Smith was an excellent golfer, but when I got out there I found that he had taken sixes on the first two holes. In other words, he was under pressure. But Joe Louis was playing pretty well. A colored spectator was pointed out to me as being Leonard Reed, Joe Louis's secretary. I talked with him. He told me that Bill Spiller, the banned Negro pro, was blowing his top, that he was criticizing Joe Louis for playing, and thereby endangering the chance, he thought, of making real progress in respect to future tournaments.

Reed and I went to the clubhouse and I showed him the letter which we had received back in 1948 in Richmond, in which the PGA had agreed to stop the discrimination. He told me that he hadn't seen it before. Reed asked me to talk with Spiller.

Spiller and I sat in his dilapidated old car-- I remember I thought at the time that if he hadn't

Kingman: been barred from pro golf, he'd probably have a better car than this. He showed me a scrapbook of clippings of his golf record, and it contained several stories of my intervention, mine and Stiles Hall's, in '48 in Spiller's behalf. He remarked, "Oh, you're that man." Spiller said that he'd been asked to appear on a television show that night, and he asked me to evaluate a statement he had prepared. This statement contained strong criticism of Joe Louis, and provocative criticism of PGA officials. He also demanded to know why two somewhat non-white golfers--possibly of Spanish background--had been permitted to enter the tournament.

I told Bill that my first reaction was he should not embarrass or antagonize the two men, and that he should recognize the tremendous publicity value of Joe Louis for the ongoing fight that might ensue, and that he shouldn't burn his bridges, either, with men like Horton Smith, the PGA official, whom I felt was potentially maybe pretty sympathetic toward him.

The outcome was that he tore up his proposed statement, and he asked me to stay around and help him if he needed it. He expressed thorough scepticism regarding the chance of his being able to play in the Phoenix tournament, which would follow in two or three days the one at San Diego.

I urged him, before he got out his publicity, that he wait a couple of days to see whether colored pros would be permitted to play at Phoenix. I admitted that he was being asked to take a bigger gamble than any other individual, and that I didn't blame him at all for being suspicious.

RL: Just to clarify something, Harry--would Joe Louis as an amateur, have the right to win any money in this tournament?

Kingman: I'm sorry I am not sure of the answer to that.

On Friday--I'd worked out a morning press release identifying myself as a factfinder and an advisor for anti-bias groups--saying that I felt some confidence in Horton Smith's expressed desire to find a satisfactory solution and that it was well

Kingman: worth considering. I stressed Bill Spiller's case and discounted his criticism of Louis and his secretary, Reed, that he had made on Thursday morning. I excused him on the basis of injustices that he had suffered now and in the past.

At noon, I joined the Joe Louis threesome on the fifth hole. I talked briefly with Joe, and I requested an interview with Horton Smith of the PGA when he finished his match. I received a cordial okay from him.

RL: How did Louis feel about the situation?

Kingman: He seemed concerned that Spiller might dim the hopes that Negro players could enter a PGA-sponsored tournament in Arizona the following week.

I talked with newspaper men like George Herrick of the San Diego Tribune. He distributed my release in the press room; some of this stuff was picked up all over the country and by Jack Murphy, sports editor of the San Diego Union. Spiller told me that he wanted my advice regarding a 7 p.m. radio talk.

Later, I joined Horton Smith at the 18th green. We sat down in a partly isolated spot. Smith seemed interested when I identified myself as a former FEPC official and told him that I had been connected with the Richmond incident four years earlier. I permitted him to read our attorney's brief at that time, where we'd had the promise that this wasn't going to happen again. Horton Smith admitted this was the first time he'd seen the exact text of that agreement, which provided the basis for dismissing the '48 threatened suit. I remember he asked me specifically what organizations I was representing on this visit. He outlined his plan for limited approved entries of Negro players in future tournaments coming up in the next week. Smith stated that the final conference between his committee and the colored representatives was due in a few minutes, and he invited me to attend. He escorted me past the cop guarding the locker room.

In the locker room before the meeting started, I talked with Leonard Reed, Joe Louis's secretary, and

Kingman: he was somewhat distraught. He said that Spiller was popping off to some of the newspaper men and that Spiller was criticizing Joe Louis and threatening him and was in a very bad mood.

Horton Smith had made it plain that if a suit was in the picture, he would withdraw any attempt to solve the discrimination problem. Reed insisted that Spiller was endangering the whole solution. He asked me to try to get Bill away from the press. I asked Reed if Spiller was to attend the conference that was to be held shortly, and he said he certainly hoped not.

At this point Horton Smith came along with Leland Gibson and George May, all three of them members of the PGA Board, and asked us to proceed into the dining room where the conference was to be held with Joe Louis and Leonard Reed. Shortly Bill Spiller came in and sat next to me; I was very glad to see him show up.

Spiller had a chip on his shoulder, make no mistake. He was very suspicious of Joe Louis and also of Horton Smith. His confidence in me, however, continued in evidence. He consulted me occasionally as the discussion developed. Spiller was asked to serve on a five-man steering committee in the course of the meeting and an advisory committee of Negroes, and he had several questions he wanted clarified. For example, he wanted to know about Smith's proposal that at the upcoming Arizona tournaments, only one Negro pro and one Negro amateur would be permitted to enter. He said that it was completely unsatisfactory, of course. As I remember it Horton Smith denied making such a proposal.

I ended up the meeting pretty well impressed with Horton Smith's ability and apparent sincerity. Golfer Leland Gibson I thought was very understanding. I expressed optimism that the thing could be worked out. However, I sympathized with Bill Spiller's distrust of promises for the future, and I emphasized the necessity of immediate progress. Joe Louis gave me the impression from his expression that he felt that I was being too concerned for Bill Spiller. Smith reacted against being put under pressure for a

Kingman: satisfactory outcome.

I protected Bill Spiller's opportunity to get answers to all the questions that he had. After consulting me, he finally agreed to go along and serve on the committee, despite his misgivings. I pointed out to everybody that Spiller was making the big concession, and that if the matter was not solved in a reasonable length of time, I would advise the NAACP to support Spiller and court action.

Neither Louis nor Horton Smith appeared to approve of this emphasis, but it seemed a minimum of assurance for Spiller. Gibson seemed to agree with me.

Afterwards, I talked with Spiller for an hour and a half, before he left for his work at a Los Angeles post office, and he said he would give the new plan a fair chance.

The next morning the press announced that the PGA and the Phoenix tournament committee approved of Negro participation in the Phoenix tournament. Several Negroes were admitted a few days later, when the Tucson PGA-sponsored tournament was held.

Let's see, I'm talking about '52. Since that time PGA tournaments, including those held in the South at private golf clubs, have been open to non-white players. I think the only tournament that still hasn't admitted Negro players is the Masters Tournament in Augusta, Georgia, and I think that is going to change before long. So far, the Augusta Club has enforced a ruling that nobody could enter the Masters unless he had won one of certain stipulated top tournaments during the year, and thus far, no black player has won one of those tournaments, although they have won other tournaments which I thought should have qualified them to get into the Masters. But on the whole, the pro golf set-up has been and is available to non-white players, and there are a number of them who have done well and have won certain tournaments, and some are beginning to make good money at it. But poor old Bill Spiller is too old, unfortunately, to benefit.

RL: Joe Louis's attitude through this I find a little hard to understand.

Kingman: Well, it seemed to be a personal beef between two men that I liked and he probably felt that--well, Joe was working on this thing too; he was trying to get these tournaments opened up, and he felt that Bill was so personally stirred up that it was going to hamper him. I think that was the trouble. But Joe Louis, I'm sure, was a big factor in the improvement which did take place.

RL: And how much did the students work on this?

Kingman: Well, I reported to them when I returned to Berkeley. Four years before they had written to the president of the PGA, and in this case, I think they wrote the PGA president and his committee expressing strong approval of the fact that now the discrimination had been ended.

I always knew at Stiles that these guys, these young fellows, loved to be brought in. Maybe they couldn't go to San Diego themselves, but to be represented, to know what was going on, at least to be able to express themselves in the name of the Stiles Hall student cabinet by mail, this was appreciated.

RL: How much do you think your intervention helped to bring about this favorable outcome?

Kingman: Well, it's hard to say, but I did bring to the attention of those who were going to be the key men there at San Diego the fact that we had worked on this several years earlier and that a suit had been called off because of the apparent acquiescence of the top committee in the east, and that this time they were going to have difficulties if they continued to discriminate. And, as I think I mentioned just a few minutes ago, some of the key people on the PGA hadn't even known all the facts about the Richmond incident and hadn't known about what happened then, and of the assurances that had been received in 1948.

RL: Well, it seems to be a very good illustration of your description of the conciliatory method. Teddy Roosevelt said you speak softly but carry a big stick, and you had behind you the facts on the PGA acquiescence and the threat of a suit if things could not be worked out diplomatically.

The Conciliatory Method

Kingman: The Conciliatory Method which you mention used to be one of the subjects we talked about at Stiles Hall a great deal; a course of action by which one deals with an adversary who is considered to be wrong. Year after year this was discussed and attempts were made to put it into practice. In general it represented such concepts as the attempt to be somewhat considerate of your opponent's point of view, to try to understand it, to avoid violence of argument or undue pressure; but if the disagreement is important to persist in working for a resolution.

During World War II Stiles Hall used to receive many many letters from former Stiles Hallers who were out in action around the world. Many of them would refer to the Conciliatory Method and thank the organization for having gotten them interested in it as the best method of handling controversies when the chips are down.

In my own case, when it seems desirable to differ with others, I think that for many years I have fairly consistently sought to understand the motivation of my opponent, to listen to what he had to say, to avoid blowing my top, to feel that violence would be of no help at all in the situation. I think one is usually more effective in working toward a solution calmly rather than to slam bang around and get tough. Of course I am not talking about situations where police action might be required.

RL: I like the--I don't know what to call it--the cartoon statue that you were given. Can you tell me about this remarkable object?

Kingman: Yes, this is a humorous plastic creation of some sort consisting of three people. It shows a very meek umpire playing it cool with the captains of two opposing baseball teams with bats in their hands, looking at him threateningly, ready to dispute the decision that he's about to make. This friendly spoof was given to me by the student cabinet. It says on the base, "The Conciliatory Method. Dedicated to Harry L. Kingman by his disciples at Stiles Hall, April 3, 1947."

RL: I think it's unique.

Kingman: Rosemary, if we are at the end of matters involving my off-and-on four decades at Stiles Hall I would like to make another comment or two. I am very grateful and proud to have been a part of this unusual agency. Many feel that way about it. In our case how generous it was to Ruth and me! Stiles was never in a position to pay as adequate staff salaries as the Board of Directors would have preferred. But when I retired at 65, and when it was learned that our retirement income was inadequate, the Board decided to provide us with supplementary assistance without which we could not have lived so happily ever since.

One other comment. Bill Davis who succeeded me as General Secretary in 1957 has been with the agency for nearly forty years, and what a job he has done. Since I left he has helped adjust the program to changing student interests and needs so extraordinarily well that Stiles, at a time when most campus YMCAs are at a low ebb, or have disappeared, is going stronger than ever. And with wonderful staff associates like John Martin and Dick Doughty in the wings the agency's future looks bright.



Harry Kingman, University of California Frosh Baseball Coach, 1935.



Harry Kingman at Stiles Hall Discussion.



Harry Kingman and Bill Davis, executive officers of Stiles Hall at Asilomar Conference, YMCA & YWCA, 1933.

V THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

Establishment of the Federal Commission

RL: We were going to talk today about the origin of the wartime Fair Employment Practice Commission. Why was it established?

Kingman: It was created by Presidential Executive Order 8802. I think it was 1943--after the war had been going on for awhile. There began to be a lot of difficulty about the employment of minorities in the war industries. That was particularly true here on the West Coast because there was a great influx of blacks from the southern part of our country who knew there were jobs to be had in shipbuilding and airplane building with much better wages than they could make down there. So they poured into our region and there was a lot of discrimination. They had great difficulties in getting a fair deal.

It was a great Negro leader, A. Philip Randolph--top man in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Pullman porters international union--who insisted at the White House that something had got to be done about it. Franklin Roosevelt decided that this was required and he created this agency for the purpose of, as was stated, "to eliminate all discrimination practices."

There were about a dozen regional set-ups established over the nation.

RL: This one was Region 12--California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada and Arizona--is that right?

Kingman: Correct.

Appointment as Director of the West Coast Regional
Office

RL: How did it happen that you were chosen to head it?

Kingman: Well, I'm not sure but I suppose there were a number of reasons. I had been interested all my adult life in the problems of racial minority people. I grew up in a family where my father and mother were both completely without race prejudice. Of course, I myself was born in China where I got to like people regardless of the color of their skins. Then in my athletic career, as a young fellow, I used to meet black athletes that I got to like. Some of them became very close friends of mine--people like Walter Gordon, who was one of the great athletes here at the University of California fifty years ago. Then also my father, who was a Congregational minister and college pastor at Pomona, had a lot of influence on me. He gave me the idea that people should try to stick up for and help the underdog or the person that is getting a bum deal and that the stronger person should stand up for the weaker person. That certainly was part of how I began doing all kinds of things during my early years.

Then afterwards the relationships with non-white people, who were getting a bum deal, interested me. As you know, at Stiles Hall, when I was the General Secretary for many years, one of my particular interests in my work with students was on interracial matters. I got to know people around the country and when this new organization was created all of a sudden in the war period, and they had to pick up staff in a hurry, I guess some of my friends called it to the attention of people in Washington. So all of a sudden I got this request to take it on.

RL: Do you have any idea who put your name forward? You hadn't been too much on the national scene at that point, had you?

Kingman: That's right. Well, it would have been people like Walter Gordon--he was very active in NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People]. Then there was a black friend of mine, George M. Johnson, who was here at Cal and who later became prominent in the fight for better opportunities for people of his race. I am sure that he was one of those that put my name in. Then there were people like Dan [Daniel E.] Koshland, of Levi-Strauss and Company, who has always been a very close friend of mine. He undoubtedly brought it up because he was head man of an organization over in San Francisco called The San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, I think it was.

RL: And this appealed to you as a good use of your talents during wartime?

Kingman: That's right.

Getting Started

RL: How did you pick your staff?

Kingman: That was a kick! At the time I was notified of my appointment I was already scheduled to discuss race relations at a meeting in San Francisco. In the course of the session I mentioned that staff members were to be recruited for the new agency. At the conclusion of the meeting an attractive young woman came up to me and said she would like to apply for a secretarial job. What a lucky break that was for me and for the FEPC! Virginia Seymour became my secretary the next day. She was an office expert, a fine person, an invaluable asset for us during the next two years. My second lucky break came a day or two later when an experienced federal government employee named Edward Rutledge rang my front door bell in Berkeley. He had read of the new agency and might be interested in a staff job. As we talked I realized that this guy was something special. He showed me his official Form 57 federal identification card with its information on his background and experience. I was much impressed with him before the morning was over, and felt that we

Kingman: were in basic agreement on how to operate. I think it was only two or three days before he was on the job and we were on the bricklayer case which I'll mention later.

We also opened our Los Angeles office within a few days and were again fortunate in the choice of staff. Experienced, able and dedicated to working his head off, Robert Brown, a Negro, headed our important set up in Southern California. Today, decades later, he is still working in behalf of less advantaged Americans in the Los Angeles Juvenile Guidance Department.

RL: Wasn't there also a former student president at Stiles Hall that you brought onto the San Francisco office staff?

Kingman: Yeah, Frank Pestana. I could hold forth on him indefinitely. A real great character.

The first time I met Frank was back in the early '30's when I was on a committee at the University of California with three professors appointed by President Sproul to get to know freshmen students. It also included the idea that if possible we get out to meet some of them even before they graduated from high school. So, in connection with this job, I went down to McClymonds High School in Oakland one day, where a dean there gathered a number of fellows who were going to register at Cal.

When I went in he whispered to me, "You see the fellow over there? His name is Frank Pestana. He is either going to be a great asset to our country or just the opposite. I wish you'd keep an eye on him." So when Frank registered at Cal I invited him to come over to Stiles and got him doing things that I thought would interest him and be helpful to him. He was a rough diamond of Portuguese background. I could see that he had great potential and also that he was very unusual.

RL: What were the rough bits?

Kingman: Well, he was pretty profane. He expressed himself with great vigor--sometimes regardless of whether

Kingman: people liked it or not, and he had strong sympathy for the less advantaged. He was all for the guy that wasn't getting a square deal, all the way through. He was always ready to scrap if necessary, a real strong character! Well, anyway we got him into the Y activities and, by golly, if he didn't end up as President of Stiles Hall in his senior year. Then he took a law degree and became a lawyer, a labor lawyer. I don't think he made much money because he was always taking on cases of people that didn't have anything to pay him with. But it was a part of his deep conviction that our country could do a little better than it did in being fair to all its citizens.

So when I didn't have a full staff as yet, and was trying to think who in the heck I was going to get, I thought of Frank. He was practicing law down in Los Angeles. I didn't get him at the opening of my office but did a little later on. He came on the staff--and he still had some rough edges. I mean he used to talk pretty rough sometimes to the corporation or union officials who were discriminating. He just threw his life into it, and it turned out that he was one of the guys that led the FEPC national office, finally when the whole thing was over, to say that we had a marvelous staff out here.

RL: Sometimes you need the rough as well as the diamond.

Kingman: I have a great admiration for this fellow. He returned eventually to a law practice in Los Angeles. I guess he still doesn't mince words--even with his own clients. He tells them 'off when he considers them to be on the wrong track.

RL: How about funding--did the FEPC have enough money?

Kingman: No. It was starved financially from the start, and was finally closed out by its foes in Congress. I believe I'm correct in stating that this national agency with its difficult task was limited to an annual budget of but a little over a half million dollars. In our large Region XII we never had more than nine staff members--four examiners in addition to myself and four secretaries.

RL: The nation's main shipbuilding industry was located mostly on the West Coast, wasn't it?

Kingman: That's right. We received more complaints of discrimination than in any other region. We worked a six day week during the time that we operated-- Sundays, Christmas and the Fourth of July we didn't report. It really was something.

I mentioned that when we opened the San Francisco office at the start there were only three of us. The War Manpower Commission was kind enough to give us a small windowless office space which had rough boards as walls and contained only three small desks and several chairs. When two black bricklayers from Kansas City brought in the first complaint I doubt that they were much impressed by our surroundings. (Within ten days we were assigned to a satisfactory office in the Furniture Mart.)

Black Bricklayers Excluded from the Union

Kingman: The black bricklayers came into the office the very first day Ed Rutledge and I were on the job. They said they had heard about us and wanted to make a complaint. They had just come from Kansas City, I think it was, and had been denied the right to join the Bricklayers Union in San Francisco or to get on a job. They had already been off the job two or three days. They had been there without being able to work.

So Ed and I just jumped in there on the thing and we went and saw the business agent of the San Francisco Bricklayers Union. He said, "No, they can't work here." Then we went to higher union authorities that we could reach. Nothing doing. Then we phoned to Kansas City to where the head office of the Bricklayers' Union was and told them that these men had to be put on. The non-white people of the area, particularly around San Francisco, were all watching us and asking themselves, what is this agency going to do and is it going to do any good? This stuff got into the papers right away.

RL: How did you get it in? Did you call some reporters?

Kingman: Yeah. We had to get out publicity on what we were doing, all the way through, because there was plenty of opposition to us from start to finish. Well, anyway, to make a long story short, Ed and I just worked that thing good. Of course nobody knew whether we had any influence or power or what our status was-- we didn't know ourselves. But we stood for the executive branch of the government. So after two or three days the two men were given jobs laying bricks.

RL: Two days?

Kingman: Well, they had already been out two or three days and after the third day of our being on the job, apparently the national headquarters of the Bricklayers' Union told the local business agent that he'd have to take these fellows on. And we insisted, Ed and I, that they get back pay for the days that they didn't get to work. So that was also granted.

We were tickled to death about it but we didn't have any operating rules as yet--what we could do or what we couldn't do--we just went to town on the thing and accomplished it. Then about a week later, I was called back to Washington for a meeting of the regional directors of the FEPC. As different regional directors came in and the staff got together, there were people of several races. The only two places in Washington at that time where we could hold a staff meeting or get together for lunch were the Union Station and a government agency, which had a restaurant where people of different races could meet. This was in 1943.

RL: Really! That's shocking.

Kingman: It's sort of an indication of the fact that there has been some improvement in race relations in the U.S.A.--not near enough but Washington, D.C. is a different place.

I had asked Ed Rutledge to make a report on the Bricklayers' case and he had airmailed it back. So they had the report before I got there and I figured, well, we did pretty well on that case. I imagine we'll get a few pats on the back for it.

Kingman: But to my amazement, and it's been a joke ever since, a top man in the agency who had read our report, who I expected would be so favorable, said--it came right out--"It's an awfully long report and who in the hell told you that you could get back pay for the work? That wasn't ever part of what we were supposed to do!"

But this same man a year later--let's see, here's a report, "I want you to know that your weekly reports continue to be the best in the entire lot. I distribute them among the other regional offices. My own feeling is that you have done an outstanding job in your region, which on the basis of results at this date is the most efficient in the country."

RL: How marvelous! Would you say that you were scolded--almost--for getting back pay?

Kingman: Right! I subsequently kidded the office about it.

Case Load

RL: How did you find your complainants and how did people find you?

Kingman: Well, as a rule, they came to our offices.

RL: How'd they get to hear about it?

Kingman: There was very considerable newspaper publicity. The black community was vitally interested, of course, all over the country, in the action of the President of the United States to end employment discrimination. Minority workers quickly got to know about the FEPC and what it was supposed to do and where it was. Complainants could write in but nearly always they would come to the office. In San Francisco Virginia Seymour, who I've already mentioned, very often would take the complaint. They would tell her just what it was. She would make a record of it and turn it over to me or one of the other staff members.

You see, in the San Francisco office, we had two men besides myself working on these cases and in

Kingman: Los Angeles, the other big office, there were two men--a total of nine people altogether as I mentioned before for this five state region. Of course California had much the biggest case load, because of the tremendous war industry. Virginia Seymour was an important asset; the way she was able to get the confidence of the complainants, and get the thing straight and the information that the examiner needed.

I have a record of hers here of January 19, '45-- "Total cases documented, 1,000." A case might be that of an individual or it might involve many, many people. Our agency in my opinion, undoubtedly, helped a tremendous number of individuals during the couple of years that it was permitted to operate. As I said before, most of them were blacks who were being discriminated against. Either they were not being employed, or they were not being upgraded, or their working conditions were inadequate for them--things like that.

The second largest group were the Chicanos, but relatively few filed complaints. However, it would have been hard to find a black person in the whole of the United States, pretty soon, that hadn't learned about the FEPC and what the agency was trying to do. We consistently tried to get out whatever favorable publicity we could.

RL: Did you feel that most of the complaints that the workers were making were justified?

Kingman: Most were but some of them were not. Let's see-- [consulting records]--in 40 percent of all our cases there was satisfactory adjustment; about 30 percent were dismissed on merits; 13 percent on insufficient evidence; 11 percent withdrawn by complainant.

RL: Did you have women complainants coming in saying that they were being discriminated against because of their sex?

Kingman: No. The FEPC was created to deal solely with racial discrimination.

RL: So you feel that this is a new issue when people complain about discrimination by sex?

Kingman: Yes, I used to sit up in the galleries in Congress in later years where this issue began to be raised by congresswomen. I particularly remember the leadership given by Representative Martha Griffith of Michigan.

The Boilermakers and the Motormen

RL: Can you give me some examples of what happened in important cases with large numbers of workers?

Kingman: Yes. One of our toughest cases had to do with the Boilermakers Union, the International Boilermakers Union.

RL: What industries were they primarily involved in?

Kingman: They were especially active in both shipbuilding and airplane building--particularly shipbuilding. We had many complaints against, for example, the Kaiser shipyards up and down the coast because the Boilermakers Union insisted that Negro workers had to be in an auxiliary union, which limited them very much.

Some of them used to tell us, "About all we get out of being auxiliary workers is that we get to pay dues." There were many unfair aspects in the difference between the regular Boilermakers Union member and the black member of the auxiliary union.

So our agency had that on our desks from beginning to finish because we never did completely lick the problem. We did manage to get the Kaiser employers, for example to take on many black workers. But it was never satisfactory. We did everything we could, held hearings and all kinds of things and put on all the pressure that we could. And yet--even near the time when our agency was about to be killed--I would still go to the office in the morning in San Francisco and find maybe thirty or forty black guys there saying that they were trying to get the jobs in the shipyard and that they were being turned down because they weren't going to join this Jim Crow

Kingman: union which the Boilermakers had set up. So it was really tough on our staff because we just had to live with this thing. No matter what we did and no matter how much help we tried to get from Washington and so on, we just couldn't completely solve it.

Let me tell you about another big case which started when I first took over the job. I told you about the Bricklayers being our first job, but that same week I got a telegram from our Washington office that I should proceed to Los Angeles to appear before the War Labor Board in a hearing on the Los Angeles Railway Company, which operated all the streetcars and buses in Los Angeles. It was a serious case of discrimination because there were probably a million war workers depending on streetcar and bus transportation in LA at the time. As I remember it, about a third of their equipment was out of use because they didn't have enough motormen and busdrivers, but they would not use any Negroes to operate the streetcars and buses. The company management blamed the union for it. The union had taken a very strong position against any black operators.

So I read up on the case, and then flew to LA--our agency had number one priority on plane travel because there was always the danger of strikes which might hamper the war effort.

I appeared at this hearing of the National War Labor Board and the chairman that day was Wayne Morse, later Senator Wayne Morse. At that time the union was demanding an increase in wages and our agency took the position that we were not opposing the increase in wages but we asked that it be conditional on the ending of the discrimination against black operators.

So I did the best I could. I made my statement and I got heckled by the union workers' lawyer. He really jumped on me very hard but Wayne Morse --

RL: What could he jump on you for?

Kingman: He claimed the FEPC was anti-labor because I was doing something that was making it tough for them to

Kingman: get the increase in wages which we actually favored. Really, the only argument we had was "We may be for the raise, but it should be conditional on doing away with this discrimination against these people in time of war, when manifestly they're needed. A third of your equipment is out of action because you don't have the motormen."

Well, anyhow, Morse was friendly to me during the hearing. That didn't solve it. The War Labor Board didn't take the action that we asked them to, and so the discrimination went on and on and we kept trying to do this and that to get the problem solved. So finally, I decided that I'd ask Washington for a hearing in Los Angeles on the case.

RL: I'd like to know how your hearings really worked. This was a key case, so could you describe it in some detail?

Kingman: I'll try. The hearing would be held before the Fair Employment Practice Commission. These commissioners would come out from the East. Each side would be represented by attorneys and so on. There was all kinds of publicity. The thing was particularly difficult, when we held the hearing in 1944, because in Philadelphia the same problem had come up and there had been a strike resulting from the attempt to get Negroes on the motorman and driver jobs. So our agency in Washington was pretty scared about it because Roosevelt, who had created the FEPC, was trying to win a war and they didn't want to embarrass him, you know, or make it more difficult for him in his main job. In this hearing, it came out that the employers were probably willing to take on black workers but the union was adamant against it. The president of the union appeared at our hearing and said that if any Negroes took cars out of the barns, 87 percent of the workers were going to quit.

RL: How did they arrive at that figure?

Kingman: Well, that was the threat. Usually after a hearing like that, when the discrimination was not ended, it was sent back to the Washington office and they'd mull over it, and it would take maybe two or three months before anything happened. Well, in this case,

Kingman: Frank Pestana--one of my examiners--and I talked it over, and I think Maceo Hubbard was in the discussion too. (He was an attorney sent out from our Washington office.) I said that I thought that we should try to get the Commission, when it met in the afternoon in their final meeting, to take immediate action. "Don't wait two or three months. Take action now."

I recall that Frank and I met with the Commissioners and I put up the argument that it was such open and shut discrimination--as they knew, they had heard the testimony--that we couldn't and shouldn't wait. War workers were not even able to get rides to work. "Why wait? Why don't you decide this afternoon?"

And by golly, they did! They announced the decision that they would give the company and the union, I think it was six weeks, to begin employing black workers. That was the Commission ruling.

Well, I got some criticism in Washington for that later, too, But anyway the decision by the FEPC had been made. Then I tried to get other government agencies to help.

RL: Did it work?

Kingman: Well, let me tell you. It turned out to be probably one of the most successful cases the FEPC ever handled. In this instance, for example, we got help from the War Department. The Pentagon assigned a major, Major Burrows, a very fine gent, to help us in any way that he could. He and several of his men would go down to the car barns during this six week period and just stand around and listen to the talk in order to let the white workers know that the government was truly interested. Six weeks later on the date set, black motormen and busdrivers took out the cars and buses. And do you know how many of the 87 percent quit as threatened? One person. One person quit his job. From then on the war workers were able to ride buses and cars that had been out of commission because of lack of drivers and motormen. It was a complete turnabout!

RL: That's fantastic.

Inadequate Enforcement Mechanisms

RL: What sort of clout did your agency pack? What sanctions did you have?

Kingman: We actually had very little enforcement strength; scarcely any real power. About our most effective step was to hold an open hearing as we did in the Los Angeles local transportation situation, before a seven man federal commission whose members were appointed by the President. Actually our little outfit was underfinanced, understaffed and overworked and without real potency; nevertheless it achieved amazing results during its short life. Some day I believe it will be considered one of the vital outfits that began the effective breakdown of employment discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color.

Oh, there was one other device in the way of punch that the FEPC could theoretically utilize, and that was to cite a case to President Roosevelt for action. I remember one morning when a lot of unfortunate black members of the auxiliary Boiler-makers Union were awaiting me at my office to plead for justice. The situation looked hopeless. In desperation I announced to the press that I intended to urge our head office in Washington D.C. to cite the case to the President of the United States.

This got wide publicity and I got hell for it from the head officer in Washington; I wasn't supposed to do what I had done. But shortly thereafter I had a handwritten letter from another top man back there saying "Harry, I am in complete sympathy with you. I don't blame you for what you did at all."

RL: Did it do any good?

Kingman: No. We never did really lick that particular case. In fact we were always under great pressure. Although fair employment gained considerably during the war, things continued rough for us all the way through.

But there were compensations. For example, I became acquainted with Negro leaders throughout the nation. Elsewhere during these tapings I refer to

Kingman: the great Clarence Mitchell who succeeded Will Maslow as the national FEPC's Director of Field Operations, and later became Director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, and the highly respected civil rights lobbyist on Capitol Hill. During my own lobbying in Congress from 1957 to 1970 I had the privilege of working with him on many occasions.

Being human I was gratified at something he said in 1960 while addressing a meeting in the Department of Justice of the legal staff of Justice's Civil Rights division. He had invited me to accompany him, and in introducing me the record shows that he stated in part, "Mr. Kingman was in charge of one of the areas where the most difficult problems of racial discrimination in employment arose during World War II. Operating under a comparatively weak Executive Order and in the face of tremendous tensions, he was the most successful of all FEPC officials in obtaining clear, meaningful and lasting results."

Japanese-Americans Seeking Employment after Relocation:
Harry Bridges Works for Non-Discrimination

RL: Near the end of 1944, when the exclusion of Japanese-Americans was lifted, did returnees need help from the FEPC?

Kingman: I had alerted the Washington office that we should be ready to aid them in any way possible, and authorization was granted. In the early part of 1945 we received few complaints from returnees, partly due to the fact that there was still considerable uncertainty among them as to how they would be treated. There were still many West Coast Caucasians, particularly in California, who did not want Japanese-Americans back.

One of the first complaints that reached our office came from Berkeley. A Nisei war veteran who had been a member of the wonderful and heavily-decorated 442nd Infantry Regiment--all of whose members were of Japanese ancestry--applied for a job

Kingman: in a Berkeley factory and didn't get it. I immediately got in touch with the employer. He said, "It would be okay with me; it's a matter of how my employees would react." He informed me that there was a day shift and a night shift.

So I said, "I'd like to bring the veteran down and introduce him to all your workers." He agreed. In my talks to the employees, I naturally played up the decorated applicant's loyalty and war record. In a couple of days I was notified that he would be accepted. Unfortunately I found that the soldier had decided to return to the Middle West, and had already departed.

RL: What about the complaint you had from another Nisei veteran against Harry Bridges' ILWU [International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union]?

Kingman: That was a particularly interesting one, I thought. Another Nisei war hero had applied for a longshoreman's job in Stockton and had been refused admittance by the local union. The first thing I heard about it was that either President Harry Bridges or Vice-president Louis Goldblatt had sent word that some FEPC help was needed. Ed Rutledge and I hot-footed it over to the ILWU immediately. We were asked if Ed and I would be willing to drive a Japanese-American veteran, whom they knew and who had just come back to the West Coast, to a meeting of the local union in Stockton. They'd give him a chance to make a personal appeal because this local union was giving trouble on this issue. It didn't want any Japanese-Americans in the membership.

So Ed and I said, "Sure, we'll drive the soldier to the meeting." So we drove up to Stockton. It was an evening meeting. He was a very attractive fellow. Of course he was wearing his uniform and decorations.

When we got there one of the union members met us and told us, "There's going to be trouble at this meeting. I suggest you don't bring the veteran in until we find out how it is going to go. We'll have him stay in a different part of the building and then when it is clear that it is a good time for him to come in, then okay."

- Kingman: Ed stayed with him up in another room and I went to the meeting. It was an amazing experience. Here were longshoremen absolutely rebelling against Harry Bridges and the ILWU, cursing at Bridges for trying to put this thing over and booing him throughout his harangue. That was not the way labor people had ever treated Harry Bridges.
- RL: He was usually extraordinarily effective.
- Kingman: Yes.
- RL: About how many people were in the meeting?
- Kingman: Oh, I imagine there were three hundred or so. Yes, it was a big meeting and the uproar was just unbelievable to me. I think Ed Rutledge was sitting with me the latter part of the time and we were completely amazed. The members remained adamant against permitting the Nisei to start work. So we didn't bring him in at all because it didn't seem right or desirable to subject him to that kind of atmosphere. The great majority of the union members voted against complying with Harry Bridges' insistence that Japanese-Americans be eligible.
- RL: Did you speak at all?
- Kingman: No. I was not called on. But anyway the attempt failed and I got word shortly from the ILWU in San Francisco that the charter of the union and its officers had been suspended.
- RL: This was the Stockton branch of the ILWU?
- Kingman: Yes. Then a few days later I was informed that the union was open to Japanese-Americans.
- RL: That's splendid. And were any hired, do you remember?
- Kingman: I am sure there were because if there had been any more trouble we would have known about it. With tough, strong leaders like Harry Bridges and Louis Goldblatt, it was a cinch it was going to turn out all right. But we were glad we did not subject the war hero himself to that extraordinary meeting. We told him about it on the drive back.

Closing of the Agency: Alternative Remedies

RL: Well, in 1945 I imagine you realized the FEPC was nearing the end.

Kingman: Oh yes. The FEPC was beginning to fade out--there was growing opposition to the agency. Well, even from the start, you know, there had been difficulty about getting the financing. Then there were certain members of Congress who were hostile to it--one of them was Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia. He was the head of the Rules Committee and very potent and powerful. He let it be known that this FEPC agency shouldn't be supported financially. There were other congressmen, usually from Southern states, who fought against continuation of any kind of financial support for us. So I don't think it ever did get more than that annual \$500,000.

So finally the agency folded. It got so that we had to drop staff and the handwriting was on the wall. After nearly two years, I went back to Stiles Hall, Ed Rutledge and all the staff got relocated, and the spunky little wartime FEPC was no more. So far as I am aware there has been very little written about this wartime agency--almost nothing about its actual accomplishments and influence. I was fortunate enough to inherit duplicates of hundreds of pages of reports and records involving Region XII; these will be included in the files which I have promised to turn over to the Bancroft Library for availability to researchers and graduate students.

RL: Did you serve with any other fair employment agencies later?

Kingman: Well, in 1950, the California Department of Employment under state director James G. Bryant created the Bay Area Committee on Minority Problems. I was asked to serve as chairman. When I took this on, I felt I had to drop my twenty year side job of coaching the UC Frosh baseball team.

It was a rather satisfying task to work with such potent committee members as Sam Kagel, who had

Kingman: served as director of the War Manpower Commission for Northern California, Almon E. Roth, president of the San Francisco Employers Council, Don Glover, director of the San Francisco Urban League, George Johns, secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council. During the two or three years with this committee, we pressed for unprejudiced treatment of minority workers by the California State Employment Service. I remember it as a rather satisfactory voluntary undertaking.

Then came the problem in California of what to do about a city and state FEPC. Do you want me to say something about that?

RL: Yes. I'd very much like to know about that, because after all you had by now a much larger pool than before the war of Negro and other minority workers.

Kingman: That's right.

RL: I'd like to know how the city and state FEPCs got started and what you had to do with getting the first of these created in California. When was that first one?

Kingman: I imagine it was in '46. That was after the federal agency was out. There began to be attempts in Sacramento to create a state FEPC and the Board of Supervisors in San Francisco began talking about a city agency. I remember that I would be called on to go to certain meetings, up to Sacramento and so on, and tell about and answer questions on the operation of our wartime agency.

In Sacramento there was very good support by leading citizens for this, and also in the State Assembly. The latter was favorable in certain votes but we couldn't get it through the Senate. It wasn't until '59 that a state FEPC was finally created.

RL: Fourteen years after the war. Wasn't there one first in San Francisco?

Kingman: Yes, there were strong advocates there after the war. There were people like Dan Koshland and Ed Howden and C.L. Dellums. A lot of good citizens in San Francisco

Kingman: began working to try to get the Board of Supervisors to create an FEPC. But this dragged on. There was a lot of opposition from individual employers and from the San Francisco Employers Council. There was a big attempt to try to get it through in '57. It didn't look like it was going to go through.

One of the influential members of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors was Eugene McAteer. He was an attorney and a businessman. He later became a state senator. He owned two fine restaurants--Tarantino's at Fisherman's Wharf was one, and The Spinnaker over in Sausalito, the other.

Gene was a Cal man, a varsity football player. He and I had gotten to be very good friends. He used to invite Ruth and me over to lunch at Tarantino's and I would work on him on the desirability of a San Francisco FEPC. But he was against it. He couldn't see it. "Morality cannot be regulated" he would insist. So it was very exciting for me--by this time I was lobbying back in Washington--to receive a telegram that informed me that the San Francisco Supervisors had voted to establish a San Francisco FEPC and that Gene McAteer had made the very moving and effective presentation which swung the vote, and that he had given me the credit for having persuaded him!

RL: Wonderful.

Kingman: This statement by Gene McAteer, which was later placed in the Congressional Record of May 30, 1957, by Congressman Jack Shelley of San Francisco said:

"During the past several weeks, I have read and reread the legislation before us today. I have reexamined my own previous beliefs and convictions in the field of state regulation. Through all this recent study I have been unable to adequately and conscientiously reject the statement made to me recently by a friend of mine of many years, Mr. Harry Kingman, recently retired as the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of California, who has devoted over thirty years toward combating community prejudices and discriminatory acts.

Kingman: At present, at his own expense, he is in Washington, D.C. endeavoring to convince federal legislators that one of the necessary ingredients toward curbing juvenile delinquency and race prejudice on a national level is the enactment of a Fair Employment Practice Bill.

Mr. Kingman's recent statement to me, when discussing this proposed ordinance was:

'Virtually every statute and judicial decree local, state, or federal, to some extent is a regulation of morality. In fact, if moral standards of individuals were not susceptible to community definition and regulation we would probably not have emerged from primitive barbarism.'

To me, this statement will withstand the onslaught of whatever weapons the opponents of this particular legislation choose to use."

Apparently this was a bombshell in the meeting.

Of course I wired Gene commending him and I got a prompt reply.

"Harry, your telegram was wonderful. Your thoughtfulness was deeply appreciated. It is my understanding that you have received a copy of the speech that I made at the Board of Supervisors meeting when Fair Employment Practices Ordinance was submitted.

You might be interested to know that I wrote the speech the evening before I delivered it. Honestly I was undecided up to the time I started writing it."

RL: That's really something! I wonder what did decide him finally?

Kingman: Well, I might add that later on Gene became San Francisco's senator in Sacramento and became very

Kingman: influential there. He stood increasingly for ideals such as we are discussing. Later on it appeared that he was going to run for Mayor of San Francisco and eventually for the governorship of California. His untimely death robbed us of a great citizen.

RL: He showed an extraordinary capacity for growth.

When the California State FEPC was created in '59 I gather that your name was mentioned quite prominently as a candidate for a position on it. How did you feel about that?

Kingman: Yes, my name was recommended for the state agency but I'd already been lobbying in Washington, D.C. since March of '57 and I was into things so deeply back there, and it was so exciting and seemed to have so much promise, that I wasn't interested in giving it up.

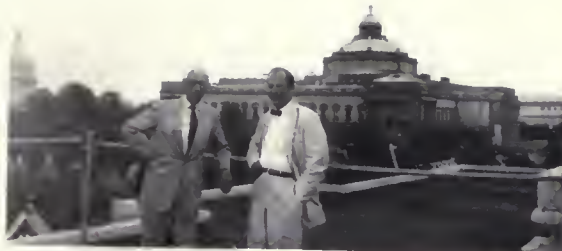
But of course I have always taken a lot of interest in the work of the state agency. Byron Rumford, who did so much to get it through, is a very good friend of mine. Incidentally--regarding Byron--I'd like to brag that I got him to join the lawn bowling club in Berkeley that I belong to. There's a great game for oldsters particularly.

RL: Your interest in athletics seems to weave in and out of the whole story. McAteer, the football player, Walter Gordon, the football player, and now Byron Rumford and lawn bowling.

Kingman: That's right!



Ruth Kingman, as matron of honor to Mrs. Walter A. Gordon, launching the S.S. John Hope. Richmond, January 30, 1944.



JUL 57

Harry Kingman and Ed Rutledge, 1957.



A typical FEPC meeting at which a group discussa utilization of minority groups in the yards. Left to right: Ben Watkins, James G. Egan, Harry L. Kingman, Clay Bedford, general manager of Kaiser yards at Richmond, Jim Bains, Ed Rutledge.

VI THE RUTLEDGE AFFAIR: A CASE STUDY FROM THE
JOE McCARTHY ERA

Background

RL: We're going to talk about Ed Rutledge today, isn't that right?

Kingman: Right.

RL: You gave me the file on the Edward Rutledge federal security case in 1954, during the [Senator Joseph R.] McCarthy era and it seemed to me to be a very important case and to carry real historical significance. I am glad that both you and Mr. Rutledge are willing to have it discussed as part of this interview. I found it very moving and to me it constituted a memorable example of how an innocent person in government might have his whole character and career destroyed. The fact that he was saved was the result of extraordinary efforts by you and other people. Before I ask you, however, how you got involved in the Rutledge hearing weren't you going to tell me a story which involved Mr. Rutledge's pipe?

Kingman: Oh, yeah, Ed and I used to work together on a lot of cases during our FEPC days. Sometimes we had plenty of fun even when the situation was somewhat nerve-wracking. I remember one time we had the president of a big corporation in my office. Ed was handling it. There had been a charge of discrimination against the company. Discussion was getting very tense and I thought, "I've got to do something if we are going to get anyplace here. We've got to change the atmosphere."

Kingman: Ed was a pipe smoker and he was smoking his pipe and he asked me for a match. So I gave him a match from a certain box which I had been carrying around for some time--in case I should decide to let him use it. He lit his pipe: bang! His pipe flew forward, and he went over backwards in his chair. The president of the company was surprised and startled but soon relaxed and laughed at what had happened. We came out of the conference, as I remember it, with a solution to an important case.

RL: That's a very unusual technique!

Kingman: Check. And you might say we were an unusual outfit.

RL: Harry, please talk about how you got involved in the security hearing.

Kingman: I got involved because Ed Rutledge was involved. I've already mentioned him quite a bit because during my two years with the wartime FEPC--he was my right hand associate. He was invaluable. Experienced and successful in government service, intelligent, loyal, tough, compassionate, a good companion. Ruth and I have always regarded Ed Rutledge almost as we would an adopted son.

He turned out to be truly outstanding during his two years with the FEPC. Our regional set-up during the war was highly commended by our national office several times as accomplishing important results. I always attributed it primarily to the fact that I had such a good staff in San Francisco and in Los Angeles. Ed Rutledge, particularly, was responsible for much of the achievement because of his particular abilities and qualities. He and I became very good personal friends. My wife and I got to know him under all sorts of conditions and situations and some of them were tragic.

In his first year on the job out here he had a lovely wife Maude and two little boys. She became ill and died. I remember Ruth and I taking him to the train with the little kids and a nurse, and he went back to New York where his sister Betty, who was married to Dave Liberson, took over the care of the children. The Libersons are two wonderful people.

Kingman: Ed would never had gotten through without their help. But anyway, Ed, after a few weeks, came back to the job here.

Then about a couple of years later he was lucky enough to marry another outstanding woman. Her name was Karyl; she was a beauty, had brains and was a lovely person. She gave Ed a third son, and in July, 1949, died of cancer.

So again Ruth and I--this time it was in Los Angeles--put him and the youngsters on a train back to his sister's in New York for loving care and help.

He was temporarily broken in spirit and dependent, of course, on the affection and generosity of those wonderful relatives back there.

Then he came back to the West Coast in government service until the summer of 1949 when Governor Averell Harriman of New York appointed him State Housing Director; he served there for a number of years and then returned to a federal job.

Rutledge Suspended from his Job in the Federal Housing Administration, 1954

RL: I hope things went better for him for a while. What happened next?

Kingman: While he was working for the Federal Housing Administration he was subjected to a loyalty check, which was carried on by the federal government.

RL: This was a routine procedure, wasn't it?

Kingman: Sort of routine, yes. There had been some kind of feeble charges against him in '48, and I wrote an affidavit in his behalf. The thing blew over; his name was cleared.

Then, five years later I received a letter from Ed informing me that President Eisenhower had issued

Kingman: an executive order, 10450, to the effect that all federal employees who had ever experienced a full field investigation in the past were to have their cases reopened. Senator Joseph McCarthy was probably in back of this. As you know he was stating that there were scores of Communists in the State Department and so on and so on.

Under this new ruling federal employees who were charged with anything would have the right to demand hearings before a security hearing board. This board would be headed by a panel of government employees who were chosen to serve in that way.

Senator Joe McCarthy, who to my mind was exerting a very baleful influence on our country and government at that time, was reported to have warned all those conducting the reopened hearings that they had better be tough--or else!

Rutledge wasn't actually suspended until July, '54. He wrote me and he was really low. He said that he didn't know if he could go through this thing again. He said he'd always known that he wouldn't have much to leave to his sons, except his record and his good name. Now these might be taken away.

His sister wrote me that she was terribly worried over what he might do. He didn't know whether he could stand going through the whole thing again. But I wrote him urging him to fight the thing out at a hearing. I said I would come East to support him at my own expense.

The poor guy back there after he was suspended--well, for some time, he didn't even tell his sons that he had been suspended; he would leave home each morning as though he was still working. Later his thirteen-year-old son Steve, the oldest, learned what had happened and begged his father to let him look for a job so he could help.

Well, Ed decided that he would seek a security hearing board appearance despite the fact that he knew the cost of attorneys and other outlays would be in the thousands of dollars. His family and his

Kingman: closest friends, of course, were rallying to his cause.

In September--this was 1954--Ed wrote me, "Everyone concurs that it would be helpful, putting it mildly, if you would be here. To me, of course, you offer a tower of strength."

The hearing was set for October and was to be held in the Federal Courthouse in Foley Square in New York City. It would last for several days and Ed's witnesses would include some really notable individuals, such as Thurgood Marshall, Roger Baldwin, Clarence Mitchell, A. Philip Randolph--thirty-two altogether would appear in his behalf. The several days of the hearing resulted in 750 pages of testimony.

The Charges

Kingman: In the meantime, while waiting to go back I did some homework on three of the charges which had been made against Ed by the government.

RL: How many charges were there?

Kingman: There were nine altogether. The ones that I dealt with were activities which allegedly took place while Ed was working on the West Coast.

RL: During the war for the FEPC?

Kingman: Yes. One of these charges was to my mind so phony that I was sure I could demolish it. So I went to work. I got the required affidavits of individuals that I needed. I was excited by obscure files of an old newspaper that I found in a search in the Bancroft Library. I thought I'd found something that was really going to help. I had it xeroxed for submittal when I was to testify.

RL: What was the charge?

Kingman: I'd better read the whole thing to you. The government charge #6 against him:

"That according to the April 5, 1945 issue of the Daily People's World, a West Coast Communist Party newspaper, you were to address a conference on April 10, 1945 at the California Club along with Matt Crawford, Bertram Edises, Rabbi Elliot Burstein--all of whom are reported to have been members of, or affiliated with the Communist Party in San Francisco."

As I say, I looked for a copy of this April 5th paper and I didn't find it in Bay Area libraries until I went up to a top floor of the Bancroft Library at UC in the old newspaper office. I found it there. The story was on the third page; the charge was based on it. I'll quote the whole thing. It was headed "San Francisco Meeting."

"A fifth freedom, one entirely in keeping with democracy and racial unity of a United Nations Conference to be held in April, will be discussed at a round table on 'Freedom from Discrimination' in employment, housing, and civil liberties to be held on April 10, 3 pm at the California Club, 1750 Clay Street, San Francisco. The meeting is jointly sponsored by the Voter's Leagues of the 21st and 22nd Assembly Districts.

Moderator of the forum will be Father Thomas F. Burke of Old St. Mary's Church and members of the Mayor's Committee for Civic Unity. Speakers will include Edward Rutledge, the examiner in charge of the San Francisco area of the Fair Employment Practice Commission, Matt Crawford, assistant Executive Secretary for the Council of Civic Unity, Bertram Edises, San Francisco attorney, and Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein of Congregation Beth Israel, Director of the San Francisco Council of Rabbis.

Speakers will discuss the national background and accomplishments of the FEPC, the pending national and state FEPC legislation, discriminatory

Kingman: housing, racial unity and civil liberties. Following the speakers there will be a period of questions from the audience.

This is the third in a series of open forums on timely issues facing the people of San Francisco to be jointly sponsored by the two voters' leagues. There is no admission charge and the public is invited to attend."

Well, I was just delighted because the appearance of the name of Thomas F. Burke as moderator of this meeting shed much significant light on the charge! Whoever made charge #6 had left Father Burke's name out completely. Who was he? Well, he was a Paulist, one of the most revered and trusted Catholic priests on the West Coast during the last war. Old St. Mary's Church in San Francisco's Chinatown was famous. I was told that Father Burke's status was such that if the meeting in question had been held in New York City it would have almost been like having Bishop (later Archbishop) [Francis Joseph] Spellman as a moderator.

RL: I wanted to ask you one thing here just to get it on the record. Was this meeting actually held?

Kingman: Yes, it was held. I talked with at least two people who were present.

The April 5th announcement of the conference in the People's World was apparently the only reference that was made to the meeting in any local papers that I could find. I mean, I looked around afterward to see if there was any report on what happened in the meeting. But there was none.

RL: You checked all the local papers?

Kingman: Yes, I checked several in the newspapers' libraries to make sure.

The place of meeting was the California Club, which was a women's club which rented its meeting facilities to outside groups.

RL: What about the other members of the panel?

Kingman: Rabbi Eliot Burstein was the head of Congregation Beth Israel in San Francisco, and also president of the Board of Rabbis of Northern California--a much respected religious leader. The remaining panel members: were Bertram Edises, a San Francisco labor lawyer, and Matt Crawford, assistant executive of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity, each of them generally considered well qualified to discuss the agenda at the Voters' Leagues meeting in April of 1945. Whether the accusation against the three of communist affiliation was justified I can't say.

I think it may be pertinent to comment that in April 1945 attitudes in the San Francisco Bay area toward alleged left wingers were considerably different from later on. American and Russian allied armies were converging on Hitler in Berlin. For example the big front page story in the People's World of April 5, 1945--(the issue which contained the news story on which charge #6 against Ed Rutledge was based) was titled "U.S. THIRD DIVISION, SOVIETS SLASH TOWARD JUNCTION IN SAXONY."

The Hearing in New York

RL: Well, what happened when you flew back to New York?

Kingman: My plane reached La Guardia Field the morning of October 20, 1954, accompanied by Hurricane Hazel, which is still considered one of the beauts. The gale was so powerful for awhile after I landed that I couldn't possibly walk against it.

Well, anyway, as soon as I got downtown I went into conference with Rutledge and his top attorney, Harold Riegelman, in the latter's office. Riegelman was a prestigious barrister and a Republican. He, at one time, ran for mayor of New York City. Ed had also secured a second attorney, a Negro friend of ours from FEPC, Frank Reeves.

Riegelman had decided that because of the nature of my relationship to Rutledge and the particular

- Kingman: potency of the testimony I was prepared to give, I would be called as the final witness on the last day. So I had to wait around for two or three days before I went on.
- RL: I'd like to ask you one or two things. Was this like a court trial; did the government as prosecutor present a case followed by Ed Rutledge? Or was it simply in legal terms, the defense that presented a case?
- Kingman: I'm afraid I'm not sufficiently up on legal technicalities to hazard an answer; particularly so since I was present at the hearing for but a short time at the very end.
- RL: Were you allowed to hear the other witnesses?
- Kingman: No.
- RL: Was Ed present throughout?
- Kingman: Yes, Ed was there all the time I believe.

Kingman's Testimony

- RL: What happened when you were called at the end of the afternoon session on the final day of the hearing?
- Kingman: As I remember it I was handed a telegram shortly before being notified to enter. Nervously I tore it open. It read "Best of luck to two fine Americans. Give my best wishes to Rutledge and to you all my love." It was from my wife at home.

I was informed at the outset by someone on our side that no one had yet been able to size up just how any of the three rather grim-faced and sort of deadpan panel members were thinking or reacting. It had been going on for three days and they still couldn't figure whether we had a good chance or a poor chance.

Kingman: Now let's see, I went in; as I remember it there was a big table, and the panel sat at one end and I and our attorneys sat around the same table. I thought afterward that Mr. Riegelman had handled the session with great astuteness. Oh, I should add also that I was aware before going in that this wasn't going to be an easy case to win because Senator Joseph McCarthy, who was then at the height of his influence, was reported to have threatened to get any member of the U.S. Government Security Panel who went soft in the conduct of security trials and hearings.

RL: And this threat was taken seriously, wasn't it?

Kingman: That's right.

Well, Riegelman, as I recall it, started out by establishing my residence as being in the San Francisco Bay Area and he asked me, "Have you ever lived in New York City?"

And I said, yes, I was here for a couple of years, 1914-15. That was all I said.

Then he asked, "What were you doing?"

"Well, I was a rookie pitcher for a couple of years with the New York Yankees."

RL: How did that go over?

Kingman: I was told later by Ed or somebody, that for almost the first time in three days the faces of one or two of the panel members softened slightly.

Then Riegelman asked me, "Who's paying for your flight and your hotel expenses?" I said, "I am." He asked me why, and I began to give some of my reasons and started about Rutledge.

Riegelman broke in and said, "Wheren't you on the Edward R. Murrow This I Believe show recently where you discussed your life philosophy?"* And I

*See Appendix 6.

Kingman: said, "Yes." The panel chairman spoke up and said, "Have you a copy of it?" And I said, "Yes, I have several here. You gentlemen can read them later if you want."

But they talked it over for a moment and said, "We'd like to read it right now." So the three panel members all stopped to read what I had said on Murrow's program about my own beliefs. I felt encouraged that they would do this, and also sensed that there was a lessening of tension around the table.

RL: Which I suppose shows two things. One, the importance of Murrow at the time and secondly, the force of what you had to say on his program.

Kingman: Regarding Charge 6, the panel was clearly impressed when I produced the photostat and the affidavits which proved the one-sided charge that had been made out of what really happened at the San Francisco meeting. I think it must have become clear to the panel members that at least there was somebody who, for unknown reasons, was trying to get Rutledge.

I might go on and talk a little bit about what I said toward the latter part of the meeting. I said, "Ed Rutledge does not qualify as a security risk under any category whatsoever. He is not a blabbermouth, he is not a drunk, he is not a disloyal person, he is not an innocent, he is not a pushover; he is not open to blackmail. Rather, he is a very great asset to our country in a difficult, controversial field in which our totalitarian enemies have been very active and extremely effective. Ed is one of our most competent and invaluable public servants. And here are some of the reasons that these things are true.

The guy is highly intelligent, he's got a keen mind. He is tough, yet he is sensitive. He is experienced and of proven competence. He is sympathetic to the underdog. He has been willing to forego personal aggrandizement and wealth in order to help the disadvantaged and thus to insulate them against false doctrines. He is courageous, persistent, persuasive. He is a man of integrity and forthrightness. When he was working with me, he never lied or doubletalked. He is a fine father.

Kingman: My own attempt to keep this the land of the free and the home of the brave may be somewhat nearing the end. As a ninth generation American I have tried to emulate my forebears in working for freedom and justice and fair play. I want to have the satisfaction of knowing that my dear friend, Ed, will be permitted to carry on." [Pause]

And I spoke about my wife's and my love for the guy and told about his loyal family and his friends, his boys and ideals. I couldn't quite hide my emotion. Somebody told me later that some of the other people present couldn't either. Before I left I apologized to the chairman.

He replied, "There's no need for that. You have made a vital contribution to this hearing."

And when I shook hands with him as I left the room he said something like this: "I don't think you will ever regret having traveled East for this hearing."

Rutledge's Clearance

RL: What were the reactions of some of the principal people after the hearing?

Kingman: Well, I was with Rutledge and he was much encouraged. And eventually, of course, he got the notice in the mails that he had been cleared and reinstated; six months back pay was restored.

RL: He was getting about \$8,000 a year at that point, wasn't he?

Kingman: I really don't remember the amount. But the concern for the panel members and for whoever it was that cleared him was indicated perhaps by the fact that the decision wasn't announced until about three months after the hearing. Ed didn't get his clearance until December, '54. I wish I knew what Senator Joe McCarthy's reaction to the outcome was.

Kingman: October, November, December. That would be two or three months and that wasn't easy for Ed to take, you know, just waiting around. He was pretty sure that he was going to be okay, because of the way the hearing had turned out.

Mr. Riegelman, his top attorney, was happy over the way the whole thing went. I had a letter from him after it was over. He said, "Thank you for your very kind note. I do not recall a more satisfying professional experience. It was a great pleasure to have made your acquaintance."

The chairman of the government panel, Harold Tyler, at the time was an Assistant U.S. Attorney serving in New York State out of the Department of Justice. Then later, when we were lobbying in Washington, D.C., he came down to Washington as head of the Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Ruth and I ran across him occasionally. We liked and admired him very much. Now he's a federal judge in the New York area.

We have corresponded. Here is a little note that I got from him when I sent him one of our lobby reports.

"Ace" Tyler wrote, "It was great to receive your report and to know that you are still your remarkable self. Whenever I feel discouraged I only have to think of you and Mrs. Kingman and then everything comes into perspective. My fond regards to you both. Best Wishes for a Merry Christmas. I wish that I could see you one of these days."

RL: That's very nice!

A Retrospective View

- RL: You have talked recently to Rutledge, I know. How does he feel about it now after--what is it, nearly eighteen years?
- Kingman: Well, Ed completely recovered from the period when he was so low and he has gone great guns ever since he was cleared. He became a top man in the New York State government. Then, about three or four years ago he was influential in starting a new national organization called the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. He was the executive director of it. He secured a black associate, Jack Wood, whom he insisted should become joint executive with him of the organization. Ed was successful in getting generous foundation financial support for the project and it has had great influence.
- RL: I think they had something to do out here in Union City recently, didn't they?
- Kingman: Yes. They have a regional office in San Francisco. Ed gets out here once in a while. So we still see him. He's been going very strong.
- RL: When you talked to him about this Oral History taping he, of course, was willing for you to talk about his loyalty hearing. Was he anxious that you should do this?
- Kingman: He gave me a full and complete go-ahead. I phoned him again just the other day and said, "This thing is so personal, I still am in doubt whether I should put it in." He laughed and again approved of the story's inclusion. Out here on a flying visit to San Francisco he read the rough draft and supplied dates that I wanted. We'll always be very close.
- RL: What made you stick your neck out so far?
- Kingman: Oh, heck, ever since my parents influenced me in that direction--my father particularly--I've been trying to increase the good life for folks, and as a result I've lived an interesting and happy life.

Kingman: I think that many individuals, if they were sensitive and looked for opportunities, could do something about what kind of a society we have--and they ought to try.

I know for example, that even writing to your senator or congressman is important because many times when I was lobbying and talking to these people they would say, "But Harry, I am not getting the mail along the lines of what you want." So even that is something that anybody can do. Then, of course, going back as lobbyist for thirteen years--that's not to be expected of most people although I think that there are retired people, particularly those that have had government experience that I would think could do just more or less what we have done. Get in and use their influence. The Senate, particularly, is so darn important with the Supreme Court being altered so rapidly now. Many minority people--black Americans particularly--are feeling discouraged about the way the Court is changing its attitudes due to the Nixon-appointed members. The Senate is now probably the most important factor in maintaining great American ideals in behalf of the individual and justice for all.

RL: It seemed to me that where you succeeded with Rutledge and succeeded in your lobbying efforts, it was partly if not mainly because of your serious research, what you said you could always back up. You didn't ever take money even from respectable organizations that shared your ideals, and you kept your financial independence. Would you add anything to that?

Kingman: It probably strengthened our lobby.

Opinion of Senator Joseph McCarthy

RL: What was your attitude toward Senator McCarthy?

Kingman: Well, I took a very dim view of Joe. I remember for example when there was to be an appointment in about 1954 of a new ambassador to Moscow, George Bohlen, the White House choice. McCarthy thought he was too leftist. My wife and I sat in the galleries watching McCarthy attempting to get the senators to vote to defeat this appointment, to knock Bohlen out of it. It was fascinating to watch McCarthy go from one member to another and make his case, put his arm around his shoulder, his hand on his knee. I remember Bob [Robert Alphonso] Taft when Joe was working on him; Taft had a very grim look on his face. He wasn't taking it. But particularly we were watching what McCarthy was going to do about Senator John Kennedy, because it had been alleged in the public press that Kennedy's father had been close to Joe McCarthy; and it was a fact that Bobby Kennedy had been an employee on one of the Senator's committees. Some politicians were claiming that Jack Kennedy was likely to be too supportive of McCarthy's ideas.

Well, we watched there for a day and a half and Joe McCarthy never went near Jack Kennedy; he never spoke to him at all. Then, when the vote came, Kennedy voted to confirm the appointment. I was told that McCarthy held that against Jack Kennedy thereafter.

Then I remember something else pretty interesting. When a senator or House member dies the federal government flags fly at half mast for a period. Ruth and I used to take walks after dinner near the Capitol. The day following the death of Senator McCarthy, when the flags were half-masted all over Washington, we walked down to the Capitol. To our amazement there was "Old Glory" flying over the Supreme Court.

So we figured, well, let's come here again tomorrow morning and see what's what. On no day that month did the flag do down in front of the Supreme Court!

Kingman: I remember when Ruth and I were having lunch with Earl Warren just before we quit traveling to Washington I told him about this, and that--feeling as we did about McCarthy--we were interested in the fact that the Supreme Court hadn't lowered the flag. He smiled.

RL: He didn't say anything?

Kingman: No. He smiled.

RL: Did you ever meet McCarthy?

Kingman: No, never met him. But after he died I ran across Senator [Arthur V.] Watkins who had been chairman of the Senate Committee which condemned McCarthy for his activities. I asked the senator whether he was going up to Appleton, Wisconsin for the funeral, because there were a number of senators who were going up. He laughed. He said, "No, McCarthy didn't like me very well after that decision of the committee. In fact he used to call me names every time he passed me in the corridor."

The senator said, as I remember it, that he had received something over 50,000 letters--from McCarthyites calling--just telling him off and criticizing him for his participation in the condemning of the Wisconsin senator. I said, "Senator, how about turning those letters over to the University of California Library?" He said, "I might do that." Then later on I found out he had given them to the University of Wisconsin.

RL: Did you run into any trouble either here or in New York or later in Washington for your participation in the Rutledge hearings?

Kingman: No.

RL: Many people were afraid at that period. I was talking about it recently with a friend. If they knew someone who was involved in security clearance trouble, they hesitated to speak to them. Did you have any of this sort of hesitation in getting yourself involved?

Kingman: No. It wasn't necessary to become fearful. One of the nicest things that I remember after this experience that I've talked about was hearing Ed Rutledge say to someone: "That Harry Kingman, he's the freest person I've ever known!"

RL: Why do you think you felt so free?

Kingman: Well Rosemary, that's a tough one to tackle. I'll try: The fact that I was a ninth generation American and loved my country and admired the ideals of freedom set up by its founding fathers has been a factor throughout my life. It somehow seems to give me confidence. I guess I have felt increasingly over the years that I had the right and the obligation to try to understand the meaning of freedom and justice and to attempt occasionally to support the ideal against suppression and exploitation of the individual. Maybe my wonderful parents influenced me along these lines early; and probably the kind of a religious faith I worked out was also a factor as the years passed.

Millions of people who recite the Lord's Prayer in church with its "Thy Will be done on earth" haven't seemed to take it as any sort of a commitment. I guess I, maybe, accepted it as somewhat a basic challenge to an individual to work toward the attainment of the Good Life for all mankind. I dunno: I guess that's about the best I can do on your question.

RL: When we first began our interviews, you remarked that you would probably prove to be an interviewee who was slightly egotistical. Why did you say that?

Kingman: Well, I guess what I had in mind was that all through my life I have been fortunate enough to have considerate friends who would overlook my shortcomings and would commend me for this or that which happened during my lengthy existence. I suppose it's a fairly normal reaction to get a kick out of receiving friendly recognition occasionally.

RL: Would you like to read me some of the letters?

Kingman: Take a look at that framed letter of recommendation on my office wall there which was written by Frank

Kingman: L. Chance of the Chicago Cubs. Frank was manager of the NY Yankees in 1914 when I joined the club. I came to admire him and his beautiful wife greatly. He was an inspiring ball player and leader and human being. Thinking I could use a recommendation early in 1919 after serving in the US Army in World War I he wrote me that heart-warmer. Here it is!

Los Angeles Athletic Club, Los Angeles, Cal.
To Whom it May Concern

3/5/19

I have known Harry L. Kingman for a number of years and during the period of our friendship I have occasion to find him a man of high principle in every way.

During the time I had charge of the American League baseball team Mr. Kingman was one of my players. As I had to keep a close eye on the members of the team I soon discovered most of their failings and virtues. I soon discovered that Mr. Kingman needed no watching. He leads an ideally temperate life and is fitted both morally and physically to take a leading part in shaping the athletic life of young men.

I wish I could express my high regard for Mr. Kingman more explicitly but can only say he is worthy of any man's friendship.

Frank R. Chance

Oh, another example of being rather elated over friendly comments. In 1964, Pomona College's alumni magazine ran a series of articles on "Our Men in Washington." The editor, in carrying one about yours truly, wrote to several individuals in our national Capital requesting their reactions to my lobbying back there. These brief replies were added to the main story. They came from individuals like Earl Warren, Bob McNamara, Sarge Shriver and Tom Kuchel. Earl Warren, whom Ruth and I have considered for years to be the Number One American, wrote:

"We are all deeply indebted to Harry Kingman-- such men are almost unique. At a time when

Kingman:

most of us would welcome the ease of retirement, he began a challenging new career. On his own, refusing to be discouraged against formidable opposition, he has vigorously fought for better legislation in our Nation's Capitol. Few have given so much of their lives to ensure man's birthright of equality and liberty, and I treasure my years of friendship with this inspiring and courageous man."



Harry and Ruth Kingman in Washington, D.C.



Painting by Ruth Kingman. Pen & ink and gouache. View from Kingman apartment of Capitol, Library of Congress.



Election Day, 1960. Ruth and John F. Kennedy's picture.



Ruth painting in Berkeley, 1965.

VII THE CITIZENS' LOBBY

Its Origins

RL: It's nice to be here again and to have Ruth with us. We were going to talk about the Citizen's Lobby. What led you to become a Washington lobbyist when you retired from Stiles Hall?

Kingman: Well, Clarence Mitchell who is now the director of the Washington NAACP office and probably the most effective lobbyist in the country on matters like civil rights legislation for improvement of race relations and so on, had urged me to do something like this for a long while. I had gotten to know him very well when I was working with the federal FEPC during World War II. He and I worked together so well that he occasionally would say, "Harry, when you retire from Stiles Hall I am counting on you to come back to Washington and help."

Clarence is a tremendous individual--a big, strong, forthright, unassuming man--considered by many to be the most effective and respected fighter in our national capital for less-advantaged people. His friendship is cherished and priceless.

RL: He's black, isn't he?

Kingman: Yes. I think in about 1956 I told him, "Well, Clarence, Ruth and I think we'll come back next year." He said, "Great." And he said, "Do you happen to know Senator William Knowland from Oakland?" I said, "Yes, slightly."

Kingman: Knowland at this time was the majority leader in the Senate. Eisenhower was President and Knowland was in a key position.

Clarence said, "In '57 we are going to try to-- we are really going to make a major effort to get the first civil rights bill since Reconstruction through Congress and if you could help at all with Knowland, it would be wonderful." This was still in '56 and he said, "If possible we should try to get a conference with him before the end of the year to talk about it."

I wrote the Senator informing him of our hope that he would help us in the coming session. We were unable to get together that fall but he sent word that he would be glad to have me come to his office when I reached Washington early in '57.

Also, in reply to your question about why I went into this lobbying, I probably should mention the fact that I had been an amateur lobbyist for a long time. I'd started, I guess, when I went out to China in the early '20's. When I became interested in the attempt by China to get rid of the shackles of the Unequal Treaties I began writing letters to people like Senator Borah, who was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, and to other members of Congress. I also started newsletters that I began sending out to many, many people. Then when I came home from China, and occasionally went to Washington while I was still at Stiles Hall, I used to drop in on certain of the senators and try to get them to begin to attempt to restore communication between our country and the Peoples' Republic of China.

Ruth helped greatly. She had been very active in the League of Women Voters and knew a great deal about government. She and I were both in complete agreement that it was important in a democracy that individual citizens, just ordinary individual citizens, should try to learn what was going on and try to make their influence felt in any way that they could. So it was just sort of a natural thing for us to do. And of course it meant that we started a new career which lasted for thirteen years and became an exciting

Kingman: part of our lives.

I remember when Ruth and I got the trans-continental train for Washington, we said, "We'd better draft a little statement of what we're trying to do." We put down our aims and we were taking it pretty cool. It went thus:

THE CITIZENS' LOBBY FOR FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY

INDEPENDENT AGENT:

Harry L. Kingman

AGENT'S GIRL FRIDAY:*

Mrs. Harry L. Kingman

BROAD OBJECTIVES:

To try to encourage and influence national leadership and legislation in matters involving:

1. Equality of opportunity for all Americans, and their protection in the enjoyment of constitutional rights.
2. Easier access to information from government. (The right to know.)
3. A willingness to negotiate realistically with any and all nations, accompanied by the attempt to maintain a consistent display of magnanimity, humility and integrity.
4. Adequate emphasis on non-military as well as military paths towards national strength; faith and confidence that the good life may be attainable for all mankind.

*Girl Friday's responsibilities and activities (theoretical compensation pending) include those of: Administrative Assistant; typist (reluctant); indexer of pertinent material in the daily Congressional Record (until groggy); social secretary, cateress and hostess in the field of entertainment; observer in the Senate and House galleries, in Congressional hearings, and in the U.S. Supreme Court; financial Worry-Wart.

Finances

Kingman: The first year that we went, we were hoping to show that ordinary people without much money could attempt certain needed lobbying. We thought we would try to go to Washington on our own financing-- at least the first year. Then if it didn't work out and we didn't accomplish anything we'd call it off. But if it were a success, maybe we'd be able to encourage other individual Americans to make an attempt, a special attempt to participate in this immensely important necessity of ordinary American people getting to know all they can about government and trying to influence it.

My friend Bill Davis at Stiles had gone to the trouble, at the time of my retirement from Stiles Hall in March, '57, of encouraging the creation of a little fund to help us.

Ruth K: It was given to us at a farewell luncheon.

Kingman: Maybe I was silly but I was so anxious to start our lobby off without help, that I asked that it be returned, with grateful thanks, to the donors.

RL: About how much was this?

Kingman: About a thousand dollars.

RL: And you wanted no ties whatsoever?

Kingman: Right, and we did get through the first year. Of course we had to use part of our savings on the project. Then the second year it was clear that we couldn't continue to finance it ourselves. So our wonderful friend, Dan Koshland,* of the Levi-Strauss Company, and another friend, Ed Howden, who had been a student officer at Stiles Hall and had later become

*Daniel E. Koshland, Sr., "The Principle of Sharing," 1971; Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

Kingman: active in San Francisco in matters of racial justice, figured that they ought to form a little organization of sponsors through whom contributions could be encouraged. So that was done and Dan Koshland accepted the assignment as trustee of the Lobby and also as treasurer. There was a group of wonderful sponsors whose names subsequently appeared on certain letters and reports concerning the Citizens' Lobby.*

All of these sponsors were helpful to us. Our long time friend Mrs. Lois C. Hogle was particularly generous in bailing us out a few times when needed, and in maintaining enthusiasm and vital confidence in us in what we were trying to do. Long time friends Clayt Orr and Mas Yonemura and his lovely wife, Toshi, had won our affection and respect long ago and have never let us down. If it hadn't been for our Lobby's Sponsoring Committee we'd probably have lasted but one year instead of thirteen.

I want to say a few words about Dan Koshland because he's been heading up things for the Kingmans for so many years--industrialist and philanthropist, truly a great and yet humble person. He and his marvelous wife, Lucile, are people that Ruth and I couldn't have done without, nor could San Francisco nor the University of California and many other people and institutions. Dan, of course, has been a top man, along with Walter A. Haas, in developing the immensely successful Levi-Strauss Company. In mentioning Dan and Walter, I can't help thinking of Walter A. Haas, Jr. and his brother, Peter E. Haas, who now head Levi-Strauss. Young, vigorous, capable, they provide compassionate leadership in many ways. They give hope for the future of society.

*Sponsoring Committee of the Citizens' Lobby.

Daniel E. Koshland (Treasurer)
 Lucile W.H. Koshland
 Lois C. Hogle
 Clark Kerr
 C.L. Dellums
 J. Clayton Orr

Jeffery Cohelan
 Mas Yonemura
 Walter A. Haas, Jr.
 Edward Rutledge
 George H. Hogle
 William A. Coblentz

Kingman: Incidentally Wally Haas and his Cal classmate and friend, Robert S. McNamara, are now members of the board of the Ford Foundation, a very important and enlightened and much needed institution, in my opinion. Pete Haas is president, this year, of the San Francisco Bay Area Crusade. Bob McNamara, former Secretary of the Defense Department and now head of the World Bank, is also a good friend of ours. As a member of the 1937 class at the University of California he was a member of the Stiles Hall Student Cabinet when his classmate Stan McCaffrey, whom I will mention later, was also a student officer there.

RL: How did you first come to meet Dan Koshland?

Kingman: It goes way back. Probably, it was connected with his long interest in race relations and in support of academic freedom. He was the head of an organization in San Francisco called the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity. I'm not sure, but anyway, over the years, I have had hundreds of contacts with him--even played golf with him, won a little money from him!

I'd just like to mention one other thing about the Levi-Strauss people. After the Peace Corps was created they asked me if I would talk with the White House and see if Director Shriver would be interested in Levi-Strauss starting to give free levis--jeans and jackets as I remember it--to all Corps members. There would be no publicity.

Ruth K: That was stipulated.

Kingman: So I talked with Sarge [Sargent] Shriver who was then heading the Peace Corps and he thought it was a great idea. Then after a while Mr. Haas, Sr. came back to Washington and he and I met with Bill Moyers at the White House and the thing was worked out specifically. It may still be going on and the company has never sought a bit of publicity at any time.

Ruth K: Every volunteer was sent to the nearest store that carried them and having a voucher they got a jacket and levis to fit. I mean they were not just handed out regardless of size. They got their own size,

Ruth K: of top quality garments. Just think of how many there have been!

Kingman: In '58 our Lobby began receiving gifts from some friends. And in regard to financing our work, I estimate roughly that its greatest expense during any year would have been about \$8,000.

Ruth K: Including travel--everything.

RL: I saw some of the figures. I saw that the 1957 donations totalled around \$1500 and by the time the Lobby closed you were getting about \$5,000 a year, some of which you returned when you left Washington.

Kingman: That's right. I think the last year it even ran very close to \$6,000. Yes, that's right. Pursuant to the Federal Lobbying Act the totals received were reported to Congress four times annually.*

RL: How did you manage to live on such a minute budget?

Ruth K: By living in one room.

RL: What do you mean, one room?

Ruth K: Well, we had one room and a bath--for everything. We had our beds in that room; we ate in that room; there was a little venetian blind on one side, about three feet long that hid the kitchen, which was nothing but a stove and refrigerator set behind the blind. Harry had his desk, his office there. We entertained there, sometimes having as many as sixteen to dinner.

Kingman: Paper plates.

Ruth K: Yes--you see we had no place to put dishes, aside from not having any money to buy the dishes! So that we always used paper plates when we invited

*See Appendix 7 for letters from Harry Kingman, Lobbyist, to the Haas' and others describing the achievements and problems of the Lobby.

Ruth K: people to dinner. It didn't seem to bother any of our guests--even the Senators or Congressmen who were there. I usually would invite people to what I would call a "California patio supper," and I would have a big pot of spaghetti--just a big pot of spaghetti with some green salad served on a red and white checked tablecloth. We'd eat on paper plates and then Harry--between courses, because we always had fruit for dessert--would take the paper plates out and throw them down the incinerator chute. That was between courses. I'm sure we did get glasses. We didn't have to serve drinks in paper cups--that I always refused to do! But entertaining that way helped make it possible for us to be in Washington.

Later on we lived in a slightly larger place because it got to the point where I did need a walk-in kitchen. That was the only difference we ever did make though. We always had everything else in one room; we did have a walk-in kitchen and at that time we even managed to have parties for fifty to seventy-five.

Kingman: As another aspect of the money-saving thing, I never did have a secretary to give dictation to. Ruth had had three months of typing lessons when she was --

Ruth K: Thirteen years old.

Kingman: And she helped me a lot but I'm used to my two-finger typing method that I have built up over the years, rather fast and pretty accurate. I wrote most of the letters myself and I wrote hundreds and hundreds of them. One reason that it used to be a seven day week was because we didn't have any secretarial help at all. There were many ways in which we saved money. Our friends in Washington, of course, used to marvel at the fact that our Lobby got along on so little.

Ruth K: Particularly when you figure how much a Congressional seat costs the American people. Harry, what's the expenditure for congressmen now?

Kingman: I forget; there was a study made on it and I can look that up. But I think that the annual cost of a member

Kingman: of Congress to the federal government by now is well over a quarter of a million dollars. I can get a more exact figure later.

RL: Oh, that's not necessary.

Kingman: The way that we handled our financing and so on was a tremendous asset to our lobby because the word got around that we were just ordinary people without any particular financial ax to grind; we weren't being financed by any organizations. It undoubtedly helped us with a lot of the members of Congress.

Later on, I figured that we could have made a lot of money, if we had wanted, because there is big money in lobbying in Washington. This was particularly true after we campaigned for Kennedy's victory and were in so close with the Kennedy administration, with some members of the Cabinet and many of the top people in government. I was offered special compensation at times, both fees and salaries. All of which were turned down. But I think it was in '63 I figured up very roughly how much those offers added up to. It was a fabulous amount.

It's a very theoretical matter, maybe, for us to figure that our financial economizing and attitudes were important--working toward a successful lobby--but we've often been told by friends back there that heard about some of it that it was a big help to our cause.

RL: I'm sure it was. But tell me, what happened when one of you got tired, so tired that you really had to go to bed and have the light out, when you had everything in one room?

Ruth K: Well, we were both so tired all the time that we both went to bed early when we could! That's the only answer I have. There was no getting away, no getting away, which was one of the hardest parts of that whole job, much the hardest part.

Kingman: Our days used to start early because our first two or three years there we lived in the Coronet Apartments, which was only a block away from the Capitol layout, the campus, so to speak. There was

Kingman: a Catholic church right across the street which always started ringing its bells at 7 AM. So we would both wake up; we would both hear it every morning; we figured why not start getting up with the bells. And by golly, ever since then we've been starting our day at 7 o'clock.

Ruth K: Seven days a week! We did it then and we still do.

Kingman: It sounds kind of silly but that is the way it worked out.

Ruth K: But there was no getting away at all. Fortunately neither one of us was sick enough so that it could have bothered us. One time Harry had to go to the hospital, another time I had to go to the hospital. But at least we weren't in each other's hair! So it worked out all right.

Major Goals of the Lobby

RL: When you look back on those years which must have been very hard work but very exciting, what gives you the most satisfaction? I don't mean what single thing. I mean the things you did, the contacts you made.

Kingman: Well, as I said, when Ruth and I started for Washington we made out a list of things we wanted to do and of course civil rights was the immediate and big thing since we had always been interested in that. Also I became very interested in freedom for Congress and the people of the country to know what the government was doing.

There was a committee of the House headed by John Moss of Sacramento, truly one of the most effective members of Congress that we knew there. He was chairman and worked hard on the necessity of the federal administration being freer in letting Congress know what was really going on. Of course that problem hasn't been entirely solved yet--the recent Pentagon Papers thing is an example of how even members of the Senate and the House don't get

Kingman: all the information they need. That was a particular interest of ours and I went to many of the hearings of the committee.

Then, another thing that we wanted to do was to try to get some kind of resumption of communication between the Peoples' Republic of China and the United States.

RL: At last we see a slight change there.

Kingman: Right!

Ruth K: In those days the China lobby was going strong.

Kingman: Yes. Then of course, world peace. We took a very dim view of the Vietnam war and along in the mid-60's we put a lot of time in on that. I wrote a lot on it, and talked with many members of Congress from the standpoint of what I thought I knew about Asian history and what makes Asians tick.

The Routine of Lobbying

RL: How would you define or describe the work of a lobbyist? It has such ugly pictures--at least at the back of my mind, expense account lunches, dirty dealings of all sorts of things, which obviously were not part of your operation! Perhaps I should ask, how would you describe the routine work of your Citizens' Lobby?

Kingman: Well, Ruth and I would usually start the day early. The first thing we'd do, we'd have breakfast, read a little bit and look up in the Washington Post to see what committee hearings were on and if there were any of particular interest which we should cover. Or I'd start making appointments with members of Congress I wanted to see sometime during the day. It is stipulated within the Constitution, you know, for American citizens to petition their government. Necessarily, of course, we had to get access to members of the Senate and the House. I was aided

Kingman: in this in that there were a number of senators and congressmen, particularly four or five congressmen who had known me before--several at UC.

So when the Leadership Conference would ask me to work on certain members of Congress that I didn't know, I would ask one of my friends in the Senate or House to phone in my behalf and make an appointment for me personally. That was a big help to start with.

A lot of the contacts, though, were made just by going over to the Hill. Sometimes I'd lie in wait for a certain Senator 'til he came to ride in the little electric train that runs between the Senate Office Building and the Capitol. You know, sit down beside him as he got on and start a conversation. Also, everybody in the world passes along the corridors between the Senate and the House! The main corridor on the ground floor is where people (including tourists) come and go all the time and where the members of Congress also often have to travel.

One of the things that helped Ruth and me was that we had a high regard for most of the individuals in Congress. We would often hear them say things or read what they'd said in the Congressional Record that we liked very much. So I would usually, very often in fact, commend them for what they had said the day before. They get so much criticism and so little praise or indication of appreciation that this was a very helpful way to initiate a brief conversation.

Ruth K: May I break in one minute here?

Kingman: Sure.

Ruth K: One of the things that most people don't seem to understand about lawmakers is that you don't tell them how to vote. Maybe there might be some lobbyists with enough clout so that when the crunch really comes they might get a little tough. But by and large, no, because you don't dictate to these very independent people--and they are very independent-minded people in Congress, both houses--you don't tell them how to vote. You offer them any help they might need in

Ruth K: getting a full picture of the question. You tell them your interest in it, in that you have such-and-such material, either for them or for their legislative assistant. Isn't that right, Harry?

Kingman: Yes.

Ruth K: That is one of the things that one definitely does. It isn't the negative sort of thing and the threatening. You don't get a hold on a person's coat lapel and say, "Look, we want you to vote such-and-such a way!" It isn't that. It doesn't work that way at all. I didn't mean to break in too much --

RL: No, that's interesting. So one of your jobs was getting and spreading information?

Ruth K: That's right. The lobbyists are almost an additional branch of government, aren't they, Harry? Because the legislators don't have time, they honestly don't have time to study everything for themselves. Regardless of their point of view, regardless of what the subject is, they often have to depend on somebody else. And if they know lobbyists who are informed, in whom they have confidence and can believe in as honest people, the lobbyists can usually get to them and give them information that they'll use.

RL: So is this a two-way process? You try to reach and to buttonhole people. But did people also, once you were established (by people, I mean legislators) try to reach you and find out your view?

Kingman: Sure.

On things like the China matter I have had a senator tell me after talking to me, "I've learned more this morning about the problems related to China than I have ever known before!" In one case it was a senator who later, for a time, ran for president. I called him off the floor and he came to the reception room where we could sit down and talk. He listened to me for half an hour and asked questions--what Asian people were like and the history of the Vietnam struggle. That was before the first Senate hearings (in about '69) had been held on China--by

Kingman: Senator Fulbright's Committee on Foreign Relations.

I was trying to get, particularly the Senate, to hold hearings so as to get the American people thinking about the problems that were keeping our two countries apart. We had no communication at all with Peking.

I was even willing to settle for closed hearings, if necessary, so that at least the committee members would be well informed. Finally Fulbright did go ahead and stage nationally-televised meetings; they were sensational. I give Senator Fulbright a tremendous amount of credit for his great knowledge and courage in the field of international relations.

Ruth attended most of the hearings. Incidentally, speaking now about Ruth--in my last Lobby newsletter, written a couple of years ago, I ended up saying that my wife, my associate, is merely the person without whom our Washington project would never have materialized--a wonderful spirit and the most talented person I have ever known. That's one of the ways I feel about her. She was a great asset. She has so many friends back there. In the entertaining that we used to do, we got many interesting groups in, many of the top people. And, incidentally, we always had one or more black guests.

Every once in a while, after such dinners, white guests would call Ruth and say, "What are the names of those people? I'd like to invite them to dinner."

Ruth K: Some of them had never before met a Negro socially.

RL: So, informally as well as somewhat formally, you worked to bring about the sort of America that we all really want.

Ruth K: Yes, and another thing we tried to do was to get people together who, for one reason or another, either might not have met or whose meeting we felt to be important. Having no official status, we didn't have to pay any attention to the pecking order that so often influences who talks to whom, as well as when and where.

Ruth K: I can remember one time when a member of a very important committee was eager to give some information to the press. To facilitate a meeting, we invited the congressman to our apartment for Saturday breakfast with Edward P. Morgan, of the American Broadcasting Company. I remember that it was Saturday because I had never seen either one of them before in sports clothes. They came over to our apartment and I gave them bacon and eggs. They sat there for three hours talking about the background of the information that they both felt so strongly should be publicized. I think it was only two or three days later that there was a national broadcast by Morgan, covering the whole thing.

RL: Could you give me an idea of the subject?

Ruth K: Atomic energy. There was nothing restricted about the information and when it was out nobody made a fuss. It was just a matter of getting it done. We were able to get people together to talk--people who might not have met or understood each other before.

RL: Did you ever find the routine of listening to debates boring--particularly during a filibuster?

Ruth K: As far as being bored in Washington was concerned, if either Harry or I had been bored I would have been the one because he had a great deal more of personal contact with different senators and congressmen in their offices, whereas one of my jobs was to sit up in the galleries and see what went on or to report back to him on whatever committee I was covering. Sometime I would sit for not longer than fifteen or twenty minutes for a brief discussion of something. Another time, for instance in a cloture debate--cloture on civil rights for instance--I've been know to sit in the gallery for ten or twelve hours and leave just momentarily (I was afraid of losing my seat; they can't be reserved). Never do I remember being bored.

I admit that sometimes when somebody who isn't any more exciting a speaker than Strom Thurmond would get going, it was an annoyance. It wasn't a boring thing, it was an annoyance. You'd get somebody

Ruth K: like Sam Ervin of North Carolina--and incidentally that is the same Sam Ervin who is chairman of the excellent sub-committee on constitutional rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee. He is so good on this--attacking secrecy in government. He's given tremendous leadership in defense of the citizen's right to privacy, that sort of thing; and yet on civil rights he's a typical deep-down Southerner. I always used to say hush-puppies just jumped out of his mouth! And if he got his books out and started reading the same references day after day after day --

RL: Was this in a filibuster?

Ruth K: Yes, in a filibuster. What he was saying could be boring, but fortunately I didn't have to digest what he was saying because it was not always particularly pertinent to the issue. But I was interested in seeing the interplay on the floor, who was coming in, who was going out, who was talking to whom. There might have been nobody on the floor but Senator Ervin and maybe the majority leader or the minority leader and the president pro tem; nobody else might have been there of the hundred senators. On the other hand, word might have got out that Sam Ervin was going to really say something that was significant and they'd all come back. They'd be talking to each other, deciding what move to make next. That was always important--never boring!

Kingman: Speaking of the endurance it takes --

Ruth K: we think of Clarence Mitchell --

Kingman: --this wonderful friend of ours who is the head of the NAACP Bureau in Washington. As I said before, he and I worked together in FEPC during the war. He was the one who told me that I had to come back and help him after I retired from Stiles Hall. This wonderful guy would sometimes sit in the gallery during the filibusters practically all night. Some of his friends would stay with him as long as they could, but eventually he would be left alone because he wanted to be there for the whole debate.

Kingman: And he is so effective! He is one of the great Americans of his time. He is the chairman of the executive committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, he's a man of great courage, of deep compassion of course, and when the whole civil rights story is written some day his name will be clear up at the top. I could say much the same thing about Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, whose office is in New York.

But talking about this business of listening to filibusters, personally it was difficult for me to do that. I would try to stay as long as I could, but usually, when I couldn't take it any longer, I would go home and go to bed.

Ruth K: May I break in for just a second? One of the senators--either Joe Clark of Pennsylvania or Phil Hart of Michigan told me how impressed he was with Clarence's endurance. As you know, during a filibuster the sessions go around the clock, usually with no one on the floor of the Senate except the man in the Chair, the senator who is speaking and a parliamentarian. The other senators go to sleep in their offices, and when they are called back to answer a quorum call, in periodic attempts to break the filibuster, they come back in amazing sartorial disarray. Pajama bottoms hang below pants legs, hair is askew, and turtlenecks are de rigeur. They just sit sleepily or wander about, waiting for the fifty-first man to answer for a quorum. Then they go back to sleep again, all but the man who is keeping the filibuster going. This goes on around the clock.

On one such night, according to either Senator Clark or Senator Hart, they were particularly exhausted, having participated in the debate earlier in the day. That is, it was exhausting until they looked up and saw Clarence Mitchell sitting there, the lone figure in the gallery. He had been there day after day, night after night, just sitting alone, listening, watching. They didn't know how he was able to do it, but just seeing him there gave them more energy to stick it out themselves.

RL: A remarkable story!

Kingman: One of the reasons he would do that was because of the people on his side who were carrying the ball, trying to win in the struggle of overcoming a filibuster. It has only been done twice in history by cloture, on civil rights matters. He would be there in case there would be some friendly senator who might be going to break into the debate sometime during the night, and would appreciate seeing at least one person, one friend of civil rights, sitting up there. Clarence wanted to be sure that any such senator would never feel that he was completely deserted and that nobody was listening. I'll probably be mentioning Mitchell's name frequently during these interviews.

Ruth K: What a wonderful man--a wonderful man, and we love him.

The Legislative Vote: Getting it out and Tallying it.

Ruth K: One of the most important things that a lobbyist does is to see that legislators are there to vote. For two reasons they may not be; they may be busy, and a lot of them are busy. Then, there is always the little business of sometimes taking a walk when they don't want to vote either way. If you can get hold of them in time, they sometimes won't take a walk, they'll come back and vote. The lobbyists sit up in the galleries and watch. When the House was voting, during our first years there, we had to keep track of all of the West Coast representatives. We were not permitted to write down the names. We had to mentally note and keep in mind how each voted in the teller votes. They don't have assigned seats in the House, so it is no easy task to identify each individual as he or she walks up the aisle and votes.

RL: I remember reading this in one of your letters that you spent a lot of time counting teller votes where the names aren't made public. When you say you can't write down their names --

Kingman: That's right. In neither House nor Senate is a gallery visitor permitted to write anything, or to read.

Ruth K: So you have to remember. And we had--how many California congressmen?

Kingman: There were slightly over thirty when we first went back; now the total is about forty.

The situation has changed recently. The teller vote was one where the members would march up the aisle, and be counted by the tellers. No public record was made known so that nobody knew how anyone voted unless there were lobbyists or others in the gallery who could recognize them. So our Leadership Conference people became very unpopular with some of those who were against our program because we were always keeping track--sitting up there--as to who was voting and how. They didn't like it. But that wasn't against the rules. You could be sitting there and see the people who were voting wrong and then you could go outside the door and write down the names, so you could remember later on. The opponents to the kind of legislation that we were interested in were indignant about the fact that we did sometimes publicize how a person had voted in a teller vote. But the House itself voted in '71 that such votes must be made public; and that has helped a great deal.

Ruth K: There is a much higher vote now, we understand.

Civil Rights

Kingman: Well, it looked black. When Ruth and I first went back, in '57, we immediately began meeting with the Leadership Conference people. That's the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights--a remarkable nation-wide federation of more than a hundred organizations, including the AFofL/CIO and their best lobbyists. As you know, Clarence Mitchell was chairman of the executive group in Washington and Roy Wilkins was national chairman. It has been the most effective lobbying organization in this whole field of civil rights. In the work that I began to do with Senator Knowland, in getting his assistance, Ruth and I became very much involved with the Leadership Conference.

Kingman: In fact, Ruth became secretary of the executive committee for a time. Scarcely anyone thought there was any real chance of getting a meaningful bill through; Congress hadn't passed a real civil rights measure in eight decades.

As I said earlier, one of the things that Clarence Mitchell wanted me to do first was to contact Senator Knowland. Although the senator and I didn't agree on a lot of things--he a conservative and I much more liberal--Ruth and I knew that he had made a good showing at the time that the Japanese-Americans were evacuated in the early part of the war. He had been relatively sympathetic to the loyal Japanese-Americans who were evacuated from California.

So I tried to get the appointment with Knowland that fall [1956] but it didn't work out. I had written him telling him that we were going to work for civil rights legislation and that I would be in touch with him early in the new congressional session. So as soon as I went back, I guess it was in March, 1957, I got in touch with Senator Knowland right away and reminded him of our tentative appointment. He said that he would be interested. Then, as things went along, every once in a while I would get in touch with him, talk with him briefly, and commend him for certain machinery that he had started in order to get the bill to the floor of the Senate.

It turned out in the long run that he was a key man in the victory that we finally won after four months of effort in the 1957 session of Congress. He was particularly helpful in cramping the style of some of the Republican senators who were cool toward the proposed legislation and who would have preferred to absent themselves from vital committee meetings in order that quorums would be lacking, thus the bill could not be brought to the Floor. The 1957 civil rights bill was not as strong as had been hoped for. Clarence Mitchell told me that Bill Knowland was very disappointed that this was the case. However it proved to be a very valuable "foot in the door," as the first of more potent measures passed later.

Kingman: On the House side the Citizens' Lobby was given major responsibility necessarily, for working on all the West Coast congressional members. As I remember, there were no other western lobbyists available. We worked inordinately long hours but still remember that only one member of the California delegation in the House failed to vote for the bill.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii

RL: I don't think you'd finished mentioning the things that gave you satisfaction.

Kingman: Yes, there were several things besides civil rights like representation in Congress for Alaska and Hawaii. There was a lot of opposition to bringing Hawaii in on the part of some of the Southern members of Congress, you know, because of the racial situation there. It became tactically clear that Alaska should be voted in as a state first. So this effort was initiated; first on the House side. I was sitting in the House Gallery on a Friday listening to the debate; quite a few congressmen had left town. It appeared suddenly that the opposition to the admittance of Alaska was going to make a move which could kill the bill if adopted in a teller vote. And if Alaska didn't get in there wouldn't be a prayer for Hawaii.

So sitting in the Gallery I saw what was going on and that the absence of a lot of our supporters on the floor might defeat the whole thing. So I rushed over to Congressman Jack Shelley's office. He and his administrative assistant immediately got on the phone and I went to different offices and we managed just in time to get together enough supporters of this legislation onto the floor--just by a narrow margin--to defeat the opposition in the vote. Shelley later publicly gave our lobby the credit. Almost the same thing happened when the Hawaii thing came up.

A number of times I would be sitting in the Gallery and I would see the Whip --

RL: What's a Whip?

Kingman: A Whip is a member of Congress who is assigned by the party establishments to help bring people in for votes, to help when there is an important vote coming up, to phone them and to try to get them there. John [E.] Moss was one of the whips and Jack [John J.] McFall--both very good friends of mine--and I would try to help them occasionally because sometimes you had to act in a hurry and there was a need for somebody to phone certain individuals or to rush over to their offices. Almost the same thing happened when the vote on Hawaii came up later in the session. It looked like a lack of people on the floor was going to enable the opposition to get in an amendment which would really endanger it. There again I used Shelley's office. I went over and told him just what the situation was--we hadn't got the votes--so he and a staff assistant got the votes to the floor in another close shave.

Low Cost Federal Loans for Student Cooperative Housing

RL: What about your lobbying to obtain low cost federal loans to help students develop cooperative living? Wasn't that in 1958?

Kingman: Yes, I was asked by the student co-ops in Berkeley if I would be willing, while working in Washington, to try to get legislation passed by Congress which would enable the federal government to make low interest loans to student co-ops. This was a long story. It proved to be a rather frustrating task to accomplish. Primarily I exploited the success of the student co-ops that Stiles Hall had started in Berkeley to make a case in Washington with the senators and members of the House of Representatives. Our lobby got very strong support from people like Senator [John] Sparkman, who was known as "Mr. Housing" in the Senate, and Congressman [Albert] Rains of Alabama, who was "Mr. Housing" in the House of Representatives. Then, another congressman who was very, very helpful was Harlan Hagen of Bakersfield,

Kingman: who was a good personal friend of mine, one of the baseball players that played an annual game with Republicans against Democrats in the Congress. I helped a little with that.

RL: Did you try to aid both teams?

Kingman: The Democrats! At Harlan Hagen's request.

Harlan had taken his law work at UC's Boalt Hall and he told me--when I started talking to him about our lobby--"I didn't belong to the student co-ops at Cal but I used to go down there and play poker at Barrington Hall" and he remembered this with so much pleasure that he became very enthusiastic about trying to get the housing legislation passed.

RL: Barrington Hall?

Kingman: Barrington Hall was one of the first and largest of the student co-ops in Berkeley.

It took us three years, really, before we got the thing through. I got valuable aid from senators like Paul Douglas, Tom Kuchel, and Joe Clark. A House member, John McFall, who had been a student at Cal, helped. He hadn't lived in a co-op, but he knew about them, and gave great assistance. He even had his administrative assistant, Irv Sprague, write an article about them, a copy of which may be found in my files.

Two who were of the utmost importance to us were Albert Rains, who, as I said, was "Mr. Housing" in the House of Representatives, and John Sparkman, who was "Mr. Housing" in the Senate and still is. We worked on all kinds of people in Congress, and we almost got our amendment into the House version of the 1958 national Housing Act, but ultra-conservative Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia, Chairman of the House Rule Committee, bottled up the bill at the last minute. However, by a special maneuver, Speaker Rayburn brought the Housing Act to a vote just before the 85th Congress adjourned. Unfortunately, passage under these circumstances necessitated a two-thirds majority, instead of just

Kingman: fifty-one percent. The 1958 Housing Act received the largest favorable housing vote ever recorded, but it failed by five votes because we couldn't quite make the two-thirds.

Senator Tom Kuchel and nearly all of the California members of the House were particularly helpful because in our fight to get this legislation in, the University of California Student Co-op was the one that we always played up. We gave them all the figures of how many students had been aided, and stressed its terrific success, the control and self-help on the part of students, and the great advantages of the training, and all that sort of thing.

Most of the time in these committee discussions, it would be the UC co-ops that would be used as the example of what student co-ops could be like.

In '59 we got the co-op amendment into the new National Housing Act, but toward the end of the session, the whole bill was killed by President Eisenhower's veto. He said, among other things, that it was inflationary and extravagant.

The next day Herblock [Herbert Lawrence Block], of the Washington Post, whom I knew quite well, produced a cartoon of a frightened, tattered young woman and her three kids, surrounded by debris at the entrance to a broken down tenement house, being told by the President as he tore up the Housing Bill, "I want to save you from inflation and extravagance."

It was a great disappointment to us to have worked so hard that year and to have the whole legislation killed.

Well, anyway, we took it up again in 1960, and this time we got the amendment into the Act again and it was adopted. So then the University of California administration was asked to help in applying for one of the newly available loans, but the legal division of the University found that the wording of the amendment, which required the

Kingman: University's approval of the loan, was not possible under California's law. So, we had to go back to Congress to change the wording. Eventually we did change it, so instead of the University having to sign their approval of the loan, it was worded so that the University administration merely approved of the project. I remember getting a letter from the University's chief counsel, Judge [Thomas J.] Cunningham, congratulating us for having solved the problem. Incidentally, Clark Kerr who was then President, was a great help to us in Washington, and we quoted him in committee meetings all the time.

RL: There's a suggestion that some of the University administrative lobby was opposed to this. Were there any grounds for that suggestion?

Kingman: There's been something written on that, and I don't recall exactly what it was. I think I remember that the University itself, having built dorms and taken on financial obligations, had to charge rates which were higher, of course, than the co-ops, and some University business officials thought it posed a real problem to the University to have financial competition from the co-ops.

Anyhow, we finally did get it through, but it wasn't until this latest Cal co-op--named the New Rochdale Co-op, over on Haste and Dana was built, that the federal financing finally panned out to the extent of over two million dollars at three percent interest per year.

RL: I think it was the University of Michigan which got a loan first, but this was the largest loan, for a ninety-six unit building. And one of the things that most impressed me was that it was completed on the date projected and opened in 1971. It's a remarkable accomplishment.

I was very impressed by a document I pulled out of the files, showing how you followed up all your personal conferences with letters supporting your ideas and supporting the people who were helping you.

RL: Here's one--pressing for the Housing Amendment.*

Kingman: That was to Congressman Rains, I think, who was the chairman of the Housing Subcommittee in the House. A very fine person.

RL: And you sent copies to twelve other people, including Stuart Udall, Martha Griffiths, Chet Holifield and so on. I don't know how you did all this. Did you have a personal secretary at this time?

Kingman: No, as I think I said earlier in our interviews, I learned to type with but two or three fingers. I got so I could type fairly fast, but never as lobbyist for thirteen years did I have a personal secretary, and most of the letters, even at Stiles Hall, I would type out myself. Unfortunately, in addition to the typing problem, it meant that I've got all kinds of stuff in my files that is undated, and is in pretty rough condition. Yep, if I'd had a personal secretary during my career I would have done a much neater job, I'm sure of that.

RL: Well, I'm very impressed with the fact that one of the economies you practiced was that you used for carbons all sorts of scrap paper. As I go through the files I see that there is no money wasted. Much information is there and that's the important thing.

Kingman: That Congressman Albert Rains to whom I wrote the letter you mentioned was from Alabama; what a fine man he was--a liberal, forward-looking person. He worked his head off to provide better housing for all of the people of our nation. I had hoped that he would be elected Speaker of the House of Representatives someday but he didn't stay in Congress long enough.

*See Appendix 8 for sample work sheets from Harry Kingman's day file.

Segregation in Pro Baseball Training Camps

Kingman: Another matter I might mention which I worked on a little while as a lobbyist had to do with professional baseball. I was of course delighted when Jackie Robinson broke the color line and became the first Negro to play big league ball--with the Brooklyn Dodgers. Soon other National League teams began utilizing colored players. The American League was much slower in opening its ranks with the results that most of the annual World Series championships since have been won by the league which contained the more numerous Negro stars. Unfortunately, even after all the big league teams began seeking good players regardless of race, some of them, while taking their annual several weeks of pre-season practice in the warm South, housed their black players off by themselves.

RL: In separate hotels?

Kingman: Yes, in some cases. In others they lived in private homes owned by Negroes. It was pretty flagrant. But by the end of 1961 only a few clubs were still segregating.

RL: Did you go down and visit the camps?

Kingman: No. It was early in 1962 that I decided to work on the issue. It was close at hand; the Washington Senators in the American League were still among those discriminating during Spring practice. The first thing I did was to fly up to New York to talk things over with Jackie Robinson and to get his advice. I had already taken up the matter with the owner of the Washington club.

Jackie had been criticizing the segregation for years. I managed to find him in one of the restaurants in the chain, Chock Full o' Nuts, of which he was vice-president. We discussed the problem for about an hour I guess. After returning to Washington I had this note from him, "It was nice hearing of your plans, and I know how much good will come from your efforts. It was good talking with you."

RL: What happened?

Kingman: During the following few weeks I spent a good deal of time on the thing. My friend Shirley Povich, the distinguished sports editor of the Washington Post, gave me a lot of encouragement, and researched the exact contemporary situation for me concerning the several training camps which were at fault. He wrote "I do hope this will be useful to you, Harry, and as I have said, I will be glad to probe further if you would like me to do so." He wrote potent columns in the Post calling for the end of the segregation.

My friend Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, was a big help as he was on some other occasions I may mention in these tapings. He wrote me on March 13, 1962, "Harry, I have your letter of March 4 concerning discrimination in baseball training camps, together with a copy of your letter to the Editor of the New York Times. You made a real contribution in digging into this problem and I certainly would appreciate it if you would keep me up-to-date, particularly if you think I might give an appropriate push."

RL: Secretary Udall mentioned a letter you wrote to a major newspaper. What sort of points did you make?

Kingman: Yeah, I wrote editors around the country. One letter which was published in Washington, San Francisco, and elsewhere, I remember, was brief so I'll quote it:

"It was nearly 15 years ago that organized baseball began to utilize Negro players. Without them to-day the caliber of play, and the draw at the turnstiles would be materially reduced.

Yet at some of the spring training camps in Florida colored players--though provided with adequate physical surroundings--are not permitted to dwell, eat, or fraternize normally with their white team-mates.

A famous citizen of Athens once was asked when he thought justice could be established. He

Kingman: replied 'When those who are not injured feel as indignant as those who are.'

Baseball training communities in Florida are not about to relinquish the lucrative tourist-luring advents of the Big Leaguers merely to keep fine athletes like Willie Mays, Hank Aaron and Ernie Banks racially ostracized. Stimulated by a little justified indignation a concerted effort by the major league officials and club owners could quickly eradicate the remaining archaic phases of second class citizenship still staining our national game."

Well, to make a long story short, I don't claim to have accomplished very much. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People--the NAACP--could do so. At any rate the baseball spring training racial segregation ended completely in 1962. I think I am correct in stating that there has been none since.

Hains Point: Saving an Integrated Park

Ruth K: How about Hains Point?

Kingman: Oh, yes. What happened there was one of the most satisfying things that I've ever had anything to do with. Hains Point, in Washington, is the tip of a beautiful little peninsula that reaches out into the water between the Potomac River and the Washington Channel. It is supervised by the District of Columbia Park Department, which is under the Department of the Interior. Its park area is used by thousands of people, particularly by those who come down from Northeast Washington, people who don't have much access to parks. Many Negroes and other nonwhite people mingle with whites. There are swings, slides, picnic tables--all kinds of recreational facilities. There is also fishing--just a marvelous place. Ruth and I used to drive around the Point on weekends in the warmer weather. It was quiet, beautiful, peacefully integrated; a truly happy spot.

Ruth K: Golf, Harry, don't forget golf.

Kingman: Oh, yeah! There was a very fine golf course, city operated, publicly owned. No, I guess the golf course was leased--that's right.

RL: But inexpensive?

Ruth K: Yes, and everybody could play. Blacks played there a lot, lots of black golfers.

Kingman: All of a sudden the announcement came out that there was going to be an immense commercial aquarium built right at the tip of this peninsula where the best of this integration existed, a spot which had been such a wonderful break for less advantaged Washingtonians. The decision had been headed by a very powerful congressman, who is now deceased. Incidentally the Department of Interior was already operating an aquarium in the Capital.

The congressman had apparently promised a friend of his that he would sponsor the aquarium in the latter's memory. He was so potent in the House that for a year it looked like it was going to go through, and our Lobby was apparently the only opponent that tried to do anything about it--our little Lobby. I found that I couldn't get anyplace in the House because of the power of this congressman. So I worked on the senators. The money had already been granted but the site had not yet been voted on.

RL: What did you do next?

Kingman: I got about ten or twelve senators who said, "Well, this thing is wrong; it shouldn't be done. When it comes up regarding the site we will oppose it."

Then, all of a sudden, an announcement came out, after a year when it looked like it was going through, that the project was not going to be put at the tip of Hains Point. We were exuberant. But a little later we learned that the aquarium was to be built further up in the park and that it would encroach on a portion of the golf course. Many of the golfers were indignant and discouraged. It was bad news.

Kingman: Herblock, the great cartoonist, was a player at that particular golf course and I used to see him there. We discussed the aquarium site problem and I expressed the hope that he would help. He knew that I had been working against the Hains Point intrusion. Soon after, coming out in the Washington Post with a powerful opposing cartoon, he challenged Stewart Udall, then head of the Department of the Interior, to a golf match to be played on the course concerned. Good guy that he is, Udall accepted the challenge.

So this nine-hole match was held and there was to be a press conference at the end of it. I was following it. At about the seventh hole I went up and asked Herblock, "How do we stand, Herb? Are we going to get any place? Is this going to do any good?"

Herb said, "You got me."

Then they were walking to the eighth hole and somebody puts his hand on my shoulder and it's Stew Udall.

He says, "Harry, quit stewing about this; you're going to come out all right."

And sure enough, we get to the ninth hole, the ninth is finished, the press is there for a news conference. Stew Udall said, "There's been a mistake made on the aquarium. It's not going to be on this golf course."

That stopped the whole thing and just this last year the Congress has even put a hold on the allotment--the eight million dollars--to build the aquarium. Even that's not available.

And Ladybird Johnson, who has done so much to beautify things around Washington, she raised the money to buy Japanese cherry trees which she had planted every five yards all around this little peninsula. It is going to be one of the most beautiful spots in the world and still provide this marvelous integrated playground for kids and others on this

Kingman: beauty spot. Oh yeah, and Stew Udall, after all this happened, he sent me a picture that had been snapped at the golf course and he signed it "To Harry, who is also a saver of the land."

RL: A very nice story!

Kingman: Ever since then Ruth and I keep driving around Hains Point (you can drive all the way around) and just get the greatest satisfaction out of it, particularly since these cherry trees have been planted and are beginning to bloom, to blossom. That was a good one.

Opposes the War in Vietnam

Kingman: Then, my opposition to the Vietnam War. For example, I remember one letter that I wrote, in June 1966, which was featured by the Washington Post. I had written a simple letter which I had checked with high authorities to make sure that I had the facts right. Mostly it was what I would do if I were President. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, had come out with a plea for the ending of the war in Vietnam and had admitted that the United Nations could not get the sanction of the Security Council because it would have been vetoed by one or two of the members. But U Thant made the offer to the world, he said that he could get scores of the members of the U.N. together to work out a feasible plan for ending the war and definite proposals to the United States on what its policy should be.

My letter was a statement of my feeling toward the war and the necessity of ending it, and why couldn't the President say, "Okay, Mr. Secretary-General, we'd like you to gather all the members of the U.N. you can,"--and U Thant thought he could get most of them--to work on the solution and make suggestions on how the war could be ended right away. And the President would say that when you do this, we would be inclined to go along.

RL: What reason do you have to think that your letter came to President Johnson's attention?

Kingman: Since it had the featured spot right under a Herblock cartoon my friends in Washington felt certain that if he didn't read it in the morning paper himself that it would have been called to his attention by staff. The chances are very good that he saw it. And if he had wanted to end the war, and had been willing to give the United Nations a chance to help, who can be really sure that the move might not have succeeded?

Little would have been lost had the attempt failed, but just think of the blessing to the world if this simple effort had succeeded! Had the war ended in 1966 just imagine how much would have been saved in lives, treasure and hope for the good life for all humanity. So far as President Johnson was concerned he would have gone down in history, I think, as the greatest patriot and statesman of all time.

And my beloved country--viewed now by many as a Goliath--with its completely one-sided control of the air, which is destroying a tiny opponent and its indomitable pajama-clad citizenry, would face a far less complicated future. And I, an octogenarian, as a ninth generation American, would feel more resigned near life's end.

RL: You have mentioned significant instances in the Johnson administration in relation to civil rights legislation as well as to the Vietnam involvement. Were there other significant occasions in the capital during this period?

Kingman: Yes, many; but one that surely should be mentioned is the Martin Luther King assassination and the resulting riots in Washington. A few hours after the assassination, sections of the capital were in flames. Most of the city was patrolled by the military, called in to augment the local police. The area in which we lived was closely guarded--entrances to all shops, banks, and even supermarkets were guarded by armed men from nearby military installations. While there was trashing and looting in some sections

Kingman: of the city--largely populated by blacks, the ghetto areas--there appeared little if any overt anti-white feeling.

Ruth and I felt that we could, to some extent at least, understand the feelings of the black community. With many of our neighbors fearful of setting foot outside their homes, we were confident that unreasoned, anti-white violence would not occur. The next day I wrote out a brief statement, copies of which Ruth and I carried in our wallets (and still do) stating:

"Should it by chance happen that I be unlucky enough to be struck down as a white, in a situation of racial turbulence, I doubt that I would consider the assailant an enemy. I would remain a supporter of the long-overdue, non-violent revolution for the attainment by non-whites of human dignity and equality of opportunity which I have sought over the past half century.

Had I happened to be born black I am sure that I would have rebelled against second class citizenship long, long ago. The amazing fact is that non-whites have been so patient for so long.

Having been fortunate enough to have the privilege of knowing many of our nation's Negro leaders for decades I have grown to be fully aware that people of their race--if treated with adequate fairness--possess as high a potential in character and ability as whites. And from long experience I have come to know that their presence enriches any occasion.

In my opinion there is nothing so evil, so unnecessary, and so without a single redeeming feature as race prejudice and discrimination. How can anyone raised in the Judeo-Christian faith and tradition maintain otherwise, or fail to try to right the terrible wrong? To hold that God, the loving spiritual father of us all, downgrades the majority of mankind because its skin appears better tanned, makes no sense to me whatsoever."

Kingman: With the passing of several days, the situation eased up somewhat, with little or no further violence.

Interview with Averell Harriman

RL: In talking with you, I've noticed the names of certain individuals crop up that you have especially admired. I'd like to ask about a few of them. For instance, former governor of New York, Averell Harriman. When did you first meet him and what would you like to tell me about him?

Kingman: Well, he's an individual that I haven't known well at all. I've just occasionally run across him, but I have been interested in his career, and I think that he's been one of the real, valuable Americans, particularly in our relationships with other countries, especially in the leadership he has given in our contacts over the years with Soviet Russia. Also, in his attempting to correct some of the serious mistakes in Washington that had been made over the many years concerning relations with some of the Asian nations.

I particularly remember something that happened early in March, 1965. At that time I was lobbying in Washington, and he was our top man in the State Department's Asia set-up. I wanted to get an interview with him once, I remember, and I got an assist from my friend, Tom [Thomas C.] Blaisdell, who was formerly in federal service in Washington, and currently on the UC faculty [now emeritus]. I secured an appointment with Harriman to take place at his office in the State Department--it was on March 30, 1965. That was before the Vietnam War had really developed--before we had begun to bomb North Vietnam. I was increasingly concerned about the wisdom of our policy at the time, and was afraid that it was going to lead to something that would be bad for our country. I wanted to talk to Harriman about it, and I was particularly anxious, I remember, that we would not start bombing in North Vietnam.

Kingman: I had seen the failure of our bombing policy in Korea. In fact, I'd seen it many times. Particularly I'm thinking of Korea, where it seemed to me, that our government at first felt that all we had to do to win was just to bomb a little bit, and we wouldn't need to use a land army. But it didn't work out that way.

So, before I went to Harriman's office, I worked out a memo putting my point of view down as best I could--why I hoped that we were not going to start bombing North Vietnam.

Well, the very day that I was to have the interview with Mr. Harriman, I saw the morning paper, and the headlines were that two or three Viet Cong had succeeded in setting off a small bomb on the grounds of the American Embassy in Saigon.

When I checked in at Harriman's office that afternoon and went up to his secretary, I was told that he was in an emergency meeting, in his office, with General Maxwell Taylor and other top American military and State Department and White House officials. So, I thought of course my interview was off. But his secretary said, "I'll tell Mr. Harriman that you're here," and to my amazement he walked out and gave me about fifteen minutes. We had a very good talk, and I mentioned the fact that I had written out my arguments. When he said that he had to return to the meeting, he asked me if he could take my statement, and of course I gave it to him.

I was really overwhelmed by his display of courtesy and concern that day.

RL: At some point, did you attend one of these high level meetings?

Kingman: No, I never had that opportunity, but I of course talked with the individuals I knew from time to time about it, and I made my own position pretty clear by letters to the editor and all that.

RL: After this meeting was there retaliatory bombing of Hanoi?

Kingman: Well, there were very loud voices, of course, in the papers and in Congress demanding that there be retaliatory bombing, but on this occasion it was not done. But, I must add that I'm sure that my plea to Harriman had absolutely no influence on the decision. That's for sure. But of course, later on the policy changed, and it hasn't been a successful policy.

Public Relations

RL: How did your Lobby get all its publicity? You've given me an example in the Hains Point affair of a golf match between Herblock and Stewart Udall. But I guess you didn't always have a cartoonist and an important Cabinet member available! What were your main public relations techniques?

Kingman: When Ruth and I went East, the very first year, we went through New York. We had a friend on the New Yorker magazine staff, Bernard Taper.

Ruth K: He used to be at the University here.

Kingman: We went in and had a little visit with him, told him what we were going to do and he was interested. Then we went down to Washington to get on the job right away on civil rights legislation and there came this guy down from New York. He got a room right next to us at the Coronet, started following us around and then we found that the editor had assigned him to get a full profile for the New Yorker on the Citizens' Lobby.

Ruth K: Harry was slightly appalled!

Kingman: Well, I knew that this was going to ruin our lobby right off because, you know, members of Congress don't ordinarily want a newspaperman present when discussing legislation and so on.

Ruth K: Who is going to vote how or why, particularly the why.

Kingman: So reluctantly we had to tell this friend, "Gosh, you can't do this. We're sorry as heck, but we're hoping to continue to lobby for a while and this would cut us off from the individuals who are so independent and who wouldn't go for it." So he went back to New York after telling us, "Well, I'll try to get a short story in anyway." He had a very nice one in the Talk of the Town in the New Yorker. I guess that was the first publicity we had.

Shortly before we first went to Washington, we heard Edward P. Morgan of the American Broadcasting Company make a speech for the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity. We hadn't known Ed but we introduced ourselves and told him that we were going back to lobby in Washington. On our arrival in the Capital we got in touch with him and soon were on very friendly terms with him and his lovely wife. In subsequent years we have been in their home frequently--where we met many famous and interesting people whom it was beneficial for us to know.

It was early in the game, 1957, when Ed Morgan first did a national broadcast about our lobby. Later he wrote an excellent article about it which was published in the University of California Alumni Monthly.* The Alumni Association employed one of Washington's best photographers to take a couple of hundred shots of us as we moved about the Capitol and talked with congressional members. Even now, in Berkeley, fifteen years later, we listen nearly every night to Ed Morgan's "One Man's Opinion" from Washington over ABC television and radio channels. Even recently he spoke of our Citizens' Lobby.

This idea of a couple of ordinary citizens without much money going to Washington to petition Congress under their constitutional rights seemed to interest people. During our thirteen years on the job there we got out two or three report mailings annually to several hundred people including numerous members of the Press Corps, Congress, the Supreme Court--and during Jack Kennedy's three years to the White House. An amazing number of such busy people read our poop sheets.

*See Appendix 9, "The Kingman's Lobby Hobby" by Edward P. Morgan.

RL: Speaking of members of the press did you get to know individuals like Walter Lippman and James Reston?

Kingman: I was a great admirer of both. I met Mr. Lippman and corresponded with him a little. I began reading him about sixty years ago. "Sooty" Reston, whom I consider to be the most important voice active in our nation now, has been in our home and is very friendly toward us. He used to read our reports, and about five years ago--when his book "The Artillery of the Press" was published--he inscribed a copy "To Ruth and Harry Kingman--valiant battlers for the good cause." He was never more indispensable than now.

RL: Did you call press conferences on certain issues?

Kingman: No. When this seemed desirable we were usually working in cooperation with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and those people make the arrangements. Oh, before we get off this subject of getting a hearing I recall a rather amazing thing that happened about a decade ago. Ruth and I were invited for an interview on Dave Garroway's 8 a.m. nationally televised "TODAY" show. The first time we were scheduled we were informed late the night before that the Bay of Pigs incident was under way and necessitated a postponement. The next time we were due to appear we got word the night before that the first news of the Cuban Missile crisis would necessitate a second postponement of our interview. Our third and last scheduled appearance was called off at the last moment because of Dave Garroway's tragic loss of his wife by suicide.

RL: I would like to ask what it was like going to the Capitol every day. Was it fun or did it get boring?

Kingman: We knew so many people there that we liked that every day was almost like Old Home Week. The members and their staffs, the press, the elevator operators, the doormen --

Ruth K: The doormen. It was very important to know them.

RL: Would they tell you who's in and who's out?

Ruth K: No, their chief importance was that because of the crowds of visitors waiting to get into the galleries or the hearing rooms they decided who should be admitted.

Kingman: Staff members are also in a key position to aid a lobbyist. Many times a member of Congress is just too darn busy to see you, or may be out of his office. If the staff member you speak with knows and has confidence in you he'll get your question or problem to his boss, and thus save you a lot of time.

It is a terrifically busy place and crowded much of the time. The corridors are usually filled and one never knows what world celebrity he may bump into. You're walking along--hey there's a guy--wasn't that--maybe it was Haile Selassie or Krushchev or Malcolm X. But particularly it was fun for us to be there because of the friendliness toward us of so many.

Ruth K: And you speak to many individuals whether you know them or not--whether they know you or not. I mean, if you see a senator and you pass right by him, you say, "Good morning, Senator," or "Good morning, Senator Whatever-his name-is." When they see you often enough they know you and may speak to you first. If they are not in a great hurry they may be receptive to what you're interested in, what you're doing there.

Sometimes a member of Congress we didn't know would say, "What are you people doing? We see you around here very often. What are you doing?" Maybe we'd talk with them for two or three minutes.

RL: I wonder how much of your success at this casual way of making acquaintances was due to your own personalities?

Kingman: I dunno; maybe it was just one of our gimmicks. But it is important for a lobbyist to have as many favorable contacts with the members of Congress as possible.

RL: You need a formidable memory for this sort of thing.

Kingman: Mine ain't what it used to be!

"Do-It-Yourself Lobbying"

RL: Didn't you attempt at times to encourage visiting professors, acquaintances and others to do some lobbying on their own while in Washington?

Kingman: Yes. When a faculty friend from Cal came to Washington for a few days I would sometimes try to persuade him to let me make appointments for him with a few members of Congress to give his informed judgement and advice on legislative subjects on which I was working. It is disappointing to me that few retired governmental workers who live in or near the Capitol utilize their know-how and experience in occasional lobbying.

When working with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights on a major bill, and an important vote was pending, Clarence Mitchell would head up an effort to bring NAACP and other pro civil rights supporters from the non-Southern states to flood the Capitol several hundred strong. We would help them get access for the purpose of lobbying members of Congress from whatever state these individual lobbyists came. They would be given not only encouragement but briefings on how to go about their tasks. This type of amateur lobbying by earnest individuals from the home cities undoubtedly influenced the votes of many members of Congress when the chips were down.

RL: What about Common Cause, the fairly new lobby headed by John Gardner?

Kingman: I recommend it strongly. I pay an annual membership fee of \$15. It is becoming more and more effective and potent. The wonderful Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which I mention frequently in these interviews, with its remarkable potency under leaders like Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, Joe Rauh, Andy Biemiller of the AFL/CIO and his right hand man Kenny Young, is in a class by itself so far as civil rights legislation progress is concerned. But Common Cause has broader objectives and a far larger budget on which to operate.

RL: How important is it for ordinary American citizens to write to their Congressional representatives in Washington expressing their opinions?

Kingman: Though very frustrating often our Lobby has considered it important for citizens to write what they hope and think. Many letters and postcards that reach a congressman's desk are manifestly cooked up by somebody; they are spotted and discounted. On the other hand as I may have already said, I, personally, have many times had the experience of being told by a member of Congress "I'm sorry, I can't go along. My mail goes the other way."

Ruth's Painting: Pietro Lazzari's Art Class

Kingman: Ruth, tell her about your paintings, and how some of them had to do with pending legislation. How you got them hung in different places--in public buildings and so on.

Ruth K: Oh, yes. Well, I had never done any painting before I went back to Washington and partly to break the tension a little, I decided I would paint at least part of one day a week, if I could. I also knew that without some sort of instruction I couldn't do even that. I was very fortunate in being admitted by the famed artist Pietro Lazzari into one of his classes. He only took four or five people. He was just being nice because he was interested in things that Harry was doing on Capitol Hill. Really, that's why he took me.

I learned enough about the use of oils so that I could take off on my own. At the time of the big march on Washington, for instance, when Martin Luther King gave that speech, "I Have a Dream," I painted a rather large picture of the march as the people were facing the Lincoln Memorial. I called it "I Have a Dream." It was about, oh, I think it was about four feet by five and a half feet--something like that--a good sized picture.

Ruth K:

One of Senator Thomas Kuchel's staff saw it and wanted to know if I would let it be hung in the senator's office. Tom was assistant minority leader at the time when Senator Dirksen was minority leader and had been very influential in all the civil rights activity. So the picture was hung in the entry of Senator Kuchel's office, where it got considerable favorable comment, including some from the press. That was rather encouraging. Then, later on, when the Watts tragedy occurred I did another two or three pictures on that, and they were hung in the State Department by Mrs. Charlotte Hubbard, who was by that time Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. In fact, she bought one or two of them.

I did several things that had more or less to do with the subject matter that we were working on. It really became a part, an interesting factor in the lobby, because that was another thing I did in one room. I painted in that same room! I had forgotten about that. I painted and always I seemed to be doing large canvases. The only place I could ever let them dry was to put them between a dresser and the wall, hoping they wouldn't get paint on anything. I hoped they wouldn't get smeared! Then, of course, they were good conversation pieces when people came in to dinner or parties or whatever. Harry always had sort of a weakness for them.

I've continued painting more or less--but less rather than more.

RL: I imagine this widened your contacts too?

Ruth K: That's right. Incidentally, I did one that I am proud of, if I may speak out for myself. I did one as a memorial to John Kennedy. It's now hanging in the Robert Kennedy Memorial Foundation offices. I felt pretty good about that.

RL: Is that a portrait?

Ruth K: No, no. It is not a portrait at all. It's an abstraction really, showing in abstract form the general scene in Washington. Looked at from above with lines of interest and concern going out from what is abstractly but recognizably the JFK tomb

Ruth K: with the everlasting flame. It was done in blue-greys and blacks except for the Everlasting Torch which is a brilliant flame. I am glad that it is where it is.

RL: Who were some of your colleagues in the painting class?

Ruth K: Oh, everybody in the world! In fact, I remember one perfectly charming person. I liked her very much from the beginning. She was a good painter. She painted nothing but flowers because she loved to do flowers and did them beautifully--I never can do flowers and I always envy anybody who can. I think I must have been in the class for several months before I found out that she was the wife of Senator Joseph Clark. Incidentally, Senator Clark had several of my pictures in his office for quite a little while.

Kingman: He was from Pennsylvania. He used to be mayor of Philadelphia, a friend who still keeps in touch with us.

Ruth K: Yes, I think he is head of the World Federalists now.

Then we had in that class one or two professional painters who had come in to brush up their techniques, and then had me who was a rank neophyte, and one or two others coming and going, who were much more typical of what is recognized as the "artistic community." We had a wonderful time at those classes and I enjoyed them very much and greatly enjoyed Pietro, who is a fine character and a marvelous artist.

RL: And a good cook?

Ruth K: Oh, yes! And one thing he insisted upon that was really delightful--we would go to his studio at ten o'clock and maybe leave at two. From ten o'clock we would paint until about a quarter of twelve. Then he would come in to his studio where he'd been walking in and out and commenting on what we were doing and he would bring us little glasses of red wine--very small--just a little wee glass of red wine--then he

Ruth K: would say, "All right ladies, the lunch is ready. Go into the kitchen." We'd sit around a big kitchen table and he would have prepared a pasta, which was simply heavenly and big schooners of red wine this time. And we would sit and talk about either politics or art or music or whatever was of interest or despair at that point. Then we'd go back and have a critique of the pictures afterward. But a very important part of my very brief art education was what I got during those lunches. They were fascinating. The people were always--a very high caliber of persons in the class. We were all quite well-informed, of a variety of opinions. But each had respect for the other's right to those opinions so there was good discussion, very little unanimity. So much for my pictures. I've talked lots about my pictures.

Personal Notes on the Lobby Years

RL: What were any special happenings that you'd like to talk about?

Kingman: Rosemary, before I answer that I'd like to refer to something else having to do with the difficulty of an interview where you keep talking about yourself and so on. My friend Larry Arnstein, "San Francisco's Mr. Public Health," taped his record for your office and he told a good story. He said that he was embarrassed talking at length about what he'd done. He told this little tale of an old veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic talking to his small grandson. The kid was sitting there with his mouth wide open listening to the feats and the great stories that the old veteran was telling him and when he finished the little boy

*Arnstein, Lawrence, "Community Service in California Public Health and Social Welfare," typed transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted by Edna T. Daniel and Willa K. Baum, University of California General Library Regional Cultural History Project (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 287.

Kingman: said, "Grandpa, there is one question I would like to ask you."

Grandpa said, "Yes, what is it?"

The boy said, "Was there anybody else in the Army beside you?"

You know, you keep talking about yourself --

RL: Well, that is the point of it, isn't it?

Ruth K: Let's get this one more thing finished. The personal satisfactions that we got out of it. I'm thinking about what's-his-name, the boy at the Coronet, remember?

Kingman: Oh, yes. Just a human thing--Purcel Sanders was his name.

Ruth K: Yes, but it was very satisfying.

Kingman: Ruth and I lived at this nice apartment house, The Coronet, right near the Capitol, and one of the fellows that worked there was a young guy, black, a very conscientious young chap, very likeable and friendly. But he had been in an auto accident and had lost an ear. It disfigured him badly and was probably going to handicap him all his life. He was unmarried. As Ruth has mentioned, we had a good friend named Charlotte Hubbard, who was then I think with the Community Chest. She later became very big in the State Department and was the wife of Maceo Hubbard who was an attorney in the wartime FEPC, whom I got to know well. We got in touch with her, wondering if there wasn't something that could be done for this fellow in the way of getting another ear.

It took a long time --

Ruth K: Three years.

Kingman: Yes, but finally we managed to obtain free medical service and everything. They grafted part of his hip onto his ear and he came out with a good ear. Of course he was the happiest guy in the world. Soon he married an attractive girl and they now have three children. He's got a good job with the Washington Post.

Ruth K: Which Harry got him.

Kingman: I don't remember that I did that.

Ruth K: Well, I do. You wrote a letter. You gave him a letter to Ben Bradlee, the editor. You sure did.

Kingman: But anyway, that was a thing we think back on with great pleasure. Another happy memory of the lobbying years was when we helped pass the '68 civil rights bill which included Fair Housing for the first time and, also, voting privileges for eighteen to twenty-one year olds. In a last ditch effort it was necessary to have all the last five senators vote "Aye." The last man to vote was Senator E.L. Bob Bartlett of Alaska. He and his wife were good friends of ours.

I had been assigned by the Leadership Conference to take the chief responsibility for winning him over to our side in the fight to end the filibuster. Coming from a small state non-Southern senators often vote and stick with the Southerners in legislative struggles because if they help them then the Dixie senators aid them in return. In the first three votes to end the filibuster Bob Bartlett helped the Southern senators defeat the move. With the weeks passing and Majority Leader Mike Mansfield itching to bring up important measures stalled by the filibuster, our side was told that we would be given only one more chance to vote for the filibuster's end.

A week before the climax Bob Bartlett told me "Harry, if the decision comes right down to me at the end I don't think I could kill your bill."

K1

Ruth K: Harry believed him absolutely.

Kingman: At a final meeting of the Leadership Conference just before what was to be the final Senate vote, I reported, as I was supposed to do, what we could expect from the senator. I well remember the expression of skepticism by one of the lobbyists with which my words were greeted.

Kingman: Tension was mounting as the voting began; as it neared the end it appeared that we would again fail. I saw Bartlett come onto the floor for the first time. He walked down to speak to Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, leader of the filibuster; I knew that the two senators had always been on friendly terms. I recall my excitement as the Alaska senator whispered to Russell, and I hoped to God that he was saying that he couldn't go along this time. Russell looked at him without expression and said nothing. Bob Bartlett then walked to the front of the chamber and joined the four other men who had not yet cast their votes.

If all five of them voted to end the filibuster it would mean an unbelievable victory for a civil rights bill which for the first time furthered fair housing, and which would give the vote to eighteen to twenty-one year olds. If any one of the five failed to vote "Aye" we would lose. Four of them voted against the filibuster in the midst of rapidly rising excitement. Bartlett's name was called. Though it was generally deemed likely that he was endangering his re-election chances he voted "Aye." There was near pandemonium both on the floor and in the galleries; the presiding officer nearly broke his gavel as he demanded order. Senator Phil Hart of Michigan, successful floor manager of the struggle, beamed with the excitement of the victory.

Ruth K: Harry, tell what happened to Phil Hart later when President Johnson, at the White House, signed the '68 civil rights bill into law, and gave out pens to some of the members of Congress who had provided special leadership in passing the bill.

Kingman: Yeah, that was a kick. I was invited to attend the ceremony. Everybody crowded around. All of a sudden, after LBJ had signed and had passed out pens, I saw Phil Hart--who had been absent--struggling through the crowd. I said, "Phil, what's wrong? Where have you been?" "They wouldn't let me in at the White House north gate" he said with a smile. He had been so delayed thereby that he had missed the whole show.

Ruth K: Leader of the effort which most black Americans were watching with great interest, he missed the victory

Ruth K: ceremony.

Kingman: Right. I admire Phil Hart; he's one of the greatest senators. I still deeply regret the fact that when President Johnson left office he left two unfilled vacancies in the Supreme Court--he could have appointed Senator Hart, as some were urging him to--there would have been few votes in the Senate opposing his confirmation. A few days after that White House incident in 1968 I had a note from the senator. I had kidded him about what had happened. He wrote "Thanks for your kind reference in your newsletter of April 18th. And for your 'bridegroom barred at the wedding' note. It makes me do what I've told myself to do for days--ever since the Bill became 'the law of the land.' That is to thank you for the patience, encouragement, search for votes, counsel--for your continued concern and understanding. That fourth cloture didn't 'just happen'--it happened because you were at work. Many thanks."

And good old Clarence Mitchell, who along with the Michigan senator had been the most potent leader in the long struggle which was being watched nationwide particularly by black Americans, commented for wide publication "The Citizens' Lobby which consists of Harry and Ruth Kingman, is not only unique among the vote getters, but it is also one of the most effective...Harry and Ruth may not meet any of the colored citizens who will get homes because of the federal fair housing law, but when the moving van pulls up it will be their work which helped to make it possible for such tenants or owners to unload their furniture and be assured of occupancy without discrimination based on race."

RL: Comments like that coming from individuals like Senator Hart and Clarence Mitchell must have meant a lot to you. Are there any other special happenings you'd like to bring up?

Kingman: One matter that has concerned me deeply during President Nixon's first term has been the type of appointment that he began to make for vacancies in the Supreme Court. Owing to Earl Warren's courtesy Ruth and I were always able to attend sessions when

Kingman: we desired. We came to respect the Court immensely. The unworthy Carswell and Haynsworth appointments troubled us greatly. Winston Churchill had termed the Supreme Court the greatest and most respected court of law in the world; it was in danger. Our small lobby worked hard against both nominations, and was given a measure of credit for the defeat of confirmation in the Senate, particularly during the bitter and, at first, apparently hopeless victory involving Judge Carswell.

Ruth, changing the subject, how about telling us about the visit ten years ago of our grandson John to Congress?

Ruth K: Oh, yes. John was ten years old.

Kingman: He took over Congress there for a day.

Ruth K: Well, it was the time when Colonel [John] Glenn made the first orbit, you remember, and everybody was all excited about it. He was to speak to a joint meeting of the House and Senate. These joint meetings are very impressive because the Supreme Court sits down in front and the Galleries are full of families and VIPs and what-have-you.

We thought it would be fun for John to come down--he lived in upper New York state at that time--just to get the feel, the excitement in the air and maybe see some of the things and meet some of the people. So he came down on the train all by himself. Of course, he was real proud of that.

We went over to the Hill and Harry introduced him to a lot of people, among them Congressman Harlan Hagen. Harlan said, "John, would you like to go in and sit on the floor of the House with me?"

Of course John's eyes bugged out and he said, "Oh, sure. I'd love it."

So he went and sat down on the lap of the congressman so that he could be there. Well, he sat about five seats in from the middle aisle. Colonel Glenn and the guard of honor came in, and he made his

Ruth K: speech. It was very exciting, very thrilling. Glenn is a very inspiring person, he really is. He's a fine speaker and it was a good speech. Harry and I were in the Gallery.

When Glenn started to leave the floor Harlan Hagen said to John, "John, why don't you get down on your hands and knees and crawl out to the aisle, and then you can see him--touch him or something." So John crawled out there just about the time the Colonel was coming by and put his little old hand up, and Colonel Glenn shook hands with him. By the time we got out Colonel Glenn and the guard of honor were standing at the top of those big steps going down from the House side of the Capitol. The band was playing, it was all most exciting.

Anyway, there was John standing right next to the four men in a row. There was the four man guard and there was John standing at attention. I got hold of him and introduced him to a couple of people who happened to be nearby. John Kennedy's two sisters were standing there. I introduced him to them and he liked that. Then later on Harry introduced him all over the place.

We made a list of the people he met, because John had to make a report to school when he went home, to show that he had really gotten something out of this day. Harry jotted down the names of the people that he met. Among them were Stew Udall and Senator Paul Douglas--a whole list here! Our own Congressman, Jeff Cohelan, Congressman George Miller, who was the head of the Space Program, Jack Shelley, of course, from San Francisco, and Carl Albert, who is now the Speaker of the House and at that time was House Majority Leader. He met Albert, John Moss of Sacramento and John Brademas of Indiana and, oh, several others. Then we went to lunch.

Meanwhile he had wrapped his right hand up; he wasn't shaking hands with any of these people; he ate lunch with his left hand because he was not going to use his right, or to shake hands with anybody until he got home and showed people "This is the hand that shook the hand of Colonel John Glenn."

Ruth K: Harry had made an appointment for us to take John to meet Chief Justice Earl Warren. When we went into his office, the Chief Justice said "Hello, Harry--Hello, Mrs. Kingman." He knew that John would be with us, so he said, "And this is John." He stood up and walked around the great big desk in that huge, imposing office of his, and put his hand out to shake hands with John. I said, "Oh, John shook hands with Colonel Glenn." And it took just that long before Chief Justice Warren said, "Well, if he has shaken hands with Colonel Glenn, he doesn't want to shake hands with anyone else, I'm sure." He turned right around and walked back and sat down.

Then our young John--and this is something I really feel like bragging about--walked right around after him and put his hand out and said, "I think if it's you, it's all right."

RL: What a splendid story!

Ruth K: It was very nice. They had a talk about the Hill and about school. He asked where John was in school and John said he was in the fifth grade.

Then Chief Justice Warren said, "Well, you couldn't do anything better for me, John, than take my personal greeting to every member of the fifth grade in Katonah. Now, if you would do that for me I would appreciate it very, very much."

So of course, John was elated, and went back with a big report. Harry jotted down a great deal of it for him so that the teacher would know. There were three sections of the fifth grade, it was a big school, and his teacher saw to it that he addressed each of the three classes to give the greetings of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to the fifth grade of Katonah School. It was really quite a day. He had a wonderful time. It was a great day for everyone. Of course we enjoyed it just as well as he did--or more!

RL: Or more.

Ruth K: I think so.

An Evaluation of Lyndon Johnson Added After His
Death, February 1, 1973

RL: When you began lobbying fifteen years ago for civil rights legislation in Washington, what was the attitude of the civil rights forces toward Lyndon Johnson?

Kingman: President Eisenhower was then in the White House; Senator William Knowland, whose helpful role I have discussed, was the Majority Leader and Lyndon Johnson was Minority Leader. The latter was a very controversial figure among some of the civil rights legislation advocates. His role in the successful 1957 struggle to pass the first major civil rights bill in eighty-two years, as I remember it, was to bring about the weakening of the legislation and thereby to help end a filibuster which otherwise we could not have overridden.

I have noted that three years later at the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, Kennedy's choice of Johnson as a running mate shocked some strong civil rights supporters. The morning after--in the Biltmore Hotel--one of the best known white friends of civil rights rushed up to Ruth and me shouting, "We've been sold out to the enemy; we've been sold out to the enemy!"

RL: What would you say to someone like that?

Kingman: In my files I note that I sometimes got into arguments with some of my civil rights friends. On one occasion in my arguments with them I held forth something like this:

"I think that we handicap ourselves with criticisms of Lyndon Johnson. I know that the attacks on him during the 1959 session--based on the expressed distrust of his motives in offering his civil rights bill--not only disturbed and discouraged him but, furthermore, it cooled off the desire for civil rights activity during the session on the part of other members of Congress in both houses who

Kingman:

otherwise might have done more to push for our desired legislation. They would not, or could not buy an anti-Johnson gambit.

He has the difficult job of holding the rein on a Senate team of horses which includes several maverick groups, including one particularly potent outfit, the Southerners. The 'reasonable' civil rights legislation 'with which the South can live'--as Mr. Johnson puts it, and which he would doubtless prefer, will not and should not satisfy us. At the same time, Johnson is a key figure in the struggle, and we might benefit if we have his understanding and good will to the extent it is possible.

In forcing the civil rights fight to the Senate floor so early in the session this year, over the bitter protests of our opponents, he has helped and pleased us. We like it as he tries to maintain rapidity of response to quorum calls, and all the rest of the formidable program aimed at giving the Senate an opportunity to vote on civil rights. Yet, so far as I know, neither we nor other proponents have commended him, nor made much of an effort to keep communications open with him. This seems to me to be a tactical shortcoming on our part. I think an attempt should be made promptly by civil rights advocates to remedy the situation. The move should be made without any thought or suggestion that we will surrender our effort to attain the kind of legislation we feel is needed.

Drew Pearson, in the early sixties, commented on a round-the-clock filibuster, and stated that there were periods of hours that Johnson spends on the floor 'keeping watch on the drive for a civil rights bill--almost alone.' He is the subject of criticism and abuse without any compensating manifestation of approval by those who know him well, a sensitive human being. Some friendly thanks from us for the load he is carrying might be expected to please him, and perhaps to increase our influence on his policies.

Kingman:

If he continues to consider us unfriendly and unappreciative of the load he feels he is carrying in behalf of racial progress it seems reasonable to assume that our influence on him will continue to be slight.

Recently Mr. Johnson's name was booed at a convention of Democratic clubs. I expect that some of what I consider the improvement in the Senator's voting and floor activities of late was unknown to those participating. I am thinking, for example, of his vote and assists in 1957 on the first civil rights bill enacted since Reconstruction Days; the determining part he played in 1958 in defeating an amendment which Senator McLellan of Arkansas tacked onto another bill as a punitive measure against the U.S. Supreme Court; his leadership and vital role in the Senate's condemnation of Senator Joseph McCarthy; his current actions in forcing a civil rights bill to the Senate floor in the face of terrific resentment from old friends in the South.

Lyndon Johnson is a real pro in politics, probably the most effective in Congress that has appeared in modern times. It could be that we have a reasonable chance to bring him to a considerable extent to our side. Is there any good reason why some of us should not let him know that we appreciate some of the contributions he has made, and that although we may differ with him at times on some legislative matters we'd like to keep in touch with him and try to help him? May it not be that, in this matter, we have been overlooking an important opportunity to increase our lobbying effectiveness?"

Some of us did work along these lines and my files contain convincing proof of the marked improvement that came about in relations with Mr. Johnson and some of his associates. Now that he is gone, and despite the Indo-China horror in which he became so involved, he is receiving some of the appreciative understanding and praise that he deserved.

HARRY KINGMAN, CITIZEN LOBBYIST

*Ex-Baseball Star and Coach, He
Now Works for Good Legislation in Congress*



lob.by.ist (lob'i-ist) n. a person who tries to get legislators to introduce or vote for measures favorable to a special interest that he represents.

LOBBYING IS BIG BUSINESS in Washington, D.C. The salaries and expenses of Washington's lobbyists amount to more than \$4,000,000 a year. But a good many Congressmen and Senators have come to know and respect one lobbyist who can't offer them the use of a yacht or an airplane, who can't buy their wives mink coats, who can't even afford to take them out to dinner. His lobby operates on a shoestring and he hopes it always will.

His name is Harry Kingman. He is the only ex-Sagehen ('13) who is also an ex-New York Yankee. He tries to get legislators to introduce or vote for measures favorable to the interest he represents: the public interest.

Harry Kingman and his wife Ruth decided to become a pressure group when he "retired" eight years ago. On his pension and Social Security (which adds up to \$5,600 a year) they moved to Washington, rented a one-room apartment, and began buttonholing Members of Congress as "The Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play." Today they have a little more money and a larger apartment (through the contributions of other citizens who like this representation) and have had the satisfaction of seeing some of their work pay off in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Working for the public good is not new to Kingman. For forty years he was Secretary of Stiles Hall, the off-campus University YMCA Center in Berkeley, which under his leadership gained a national reputation as a force for free speech and civil rights. Kingman, still tall, straight and sturdy at 73, impressed generations of students by his shy manner and stern principles. One such student was Robert S. McNamara, now Secretary of Defense.

His later career doubtless would have pleased his father, Henry Kingman, minister of the Claremont Church from 1900 to 1918, for whom the Kingman Chapel was recently named. But before this Kingman was a do-gooder he was a do-bader: Harry as a boy was not interested in anyone's freedom but his own. "He was," his sister Edith K. Chaplin '18 admits, "a wild and mischievous boy. He never studied, he only wanted to play pool."

He became a spectacular pool player, according to his classmate Alf Woodford, Emeritus Professor of Geology at Pomona. "But Harry was a heller — no question of that." Woodford, whose memories of Claremont in the early years of the century are somewhat at odds with the official history of the college, blames the young Kingman's moral defections on—of all things—bad company. "The preparatory schools of those days took each other's rejections. Harry got in with a bad lot—boys who had flunked out of every other school."

After the pool-playing, Cain-raising period, the next stage in the life of Harry Kingman was that of more manly sports.

Fortunately for the great record the college compiled in those years, this stage occurred when young Harry was a student at Pomona. During college, he was captain of the basketball team, the swimming team, and the tennis team and he was named to the All-Southern California track team.

But baseball was his real sport. A tall, rangy left-hander known as "Shoestring" Kingman, he had great success as a pitcher, but he preferred to play first base (the "initial sack" or "primary pillow," as the clippings in his scrapbook call it). In three years, Kingman never batted less than .500 for a season, and in the last year, as captain of the team, he turned in an incredible .569, with 1.000 in fielding. He was All-Southern California for each of those three years, and sportswriters in Los Angeles hailed him as "the greatest natural hitter the south has ever known." He was, they said, "considered by many to be the greatest ballplayer ever turned out of a southern college."

With such a press, it is not surprising that a dozen professional baseball clubs made overtures to him, including New York, Washington, St. Louis, Chicago, and Hap Hogan's Venice Tigers, of the Pacific Coast League. He chose Clark Griffith's Washington Senators, where he had hopes of being used at first base.

As Kingman remembers it: "The first day when I got to the ball park I was introduced to all the other players by the great Walter Johnson. But I soon found out that Frank Chance, who was then managing the Yankees, had bought my contract because his team was short of left-handed pitching. My salary was the munificent sum of \$1500."

Manager Chance was determined to make a pitcher out of the rookie, and he made Kingman pitch batting practice every day, "despite the fact that I beamed him with a wild pitch the first week." But after nearly two seasons of bench-warming ("learning the trade"), Kingman notified the unhappy Yankee front office that he was changing jobs, and went to Berkeley.

Kingman is not unhappy that he devoted his life to the YMCA, but he has always retained his love for baseball. His old scrapbook is well stocked with letters and autographed pictures which would be recognized with awe by youngsters even today: Christy Mathewson, Ty Cobb, Frank Chance, Walter Johnson, Sam Crawford, and their contemporaries. He corresponded with some of them for years. Kingman has only one child, a daughter, but his first grandson was given a baseball glove when he was so small his whole hand would fit into one of the fingers (the grandson is a Yankee fan).

Professor Woodford remembers Kingman as a "self-made" athlete, who worked hard to excel. "In track, for example, although he was not built for it at all, he taught himself how to put the shot. He would work for days on end — always on form, trying to get perfect form." It was as a shotputter that Shoestring Kingman made the all-star team. Says Woodford: "Harry was made to be a coach."

And coach he was, later on. For twenty years he coached the freshman baseball team at the University of California. During his tenure, his teams won their most important series (with Stanford, of course) seventeen out of twenty times. During recent years as a lobbyist he has helped coach the Democrats for their annual Congressional game with the Republicans.

But since leaving Pomona and baseball, Harry Kingman's major interest has been in what he thinks of as "fair play." Naively put, this means observing the principles of the



YMCA, or of the American Constitution. But Kingman is anything but a naive idealist: he *works* for what he thinks right. He has always believed that "participation in government by ordinary Americans is not only possible but essential," and he is now doing full-time what he thinks all citizens should do part-time, by writing letters to their Congressmen and state legislators.

"Fair play" at Berkeley meant providing a forum for all political views, even in times when the University itself did not allow free speech. Nowadays, most of America is on his side, but at times when the whole nation was hysterical with fear, Harry Kingman stood up against unfair play.

For example, he defended the constitutional rights of Nisei in the early days of World War II. Recently Mas Yonemura, a Japanese-American, recalled: "On Dec. 14, 1941, Harry Kingman, who had known many Nisei at the University of California, appeared on radio to appeal for fair play for an American minority endangered by war hysteria. He stated that these people 'are as American in their hopes, attitudes and loyalties as any of us,' and said that eventually they would 'prove their loyalty to this nation.' As Kingman spoke, phone calls reached the radio station, unavailingly, insisting that the speaker be cut off the air."

And in the poisonous days of McCarthyism, when a civil servant friend of his was suspended on false charges under the government's security program, Kingman did more than express his condolences: he flew to New York at his own expense, helped to prove the man's innocence, and saw him reinstated and given six months back pay.

But although Kingman fights for what he thinks is right, he is never angry or strident. His tough, laconic, low-pitched voice is set off by the lively and vivacious manner of his wife, who is an equal partner in the lobbying business. According to Edward P. Morgan of the American Broadcasting Co., who wrote an article on the Kingmans, "Their 'sell' is one of the softest and most persuasive in a town

worn to the edge of cynicism by the self-seeking activities of other lobbyists." They can't help but convince one that "they really do have no ax to grind except the public's."

To be free and independent is important to the Kingmans. They are only able to stay in Washington through the generosity of friends who give the lobby annual contributions, but they stay clear of conflict of interest. Morgan reports: "Dear to the Kingmans' hearts as is the cause of civil rights, and needy as they were for funds, they turned back in 1960 a gift of \$500 from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Kingman wrote Roy Wilkins: "We would lose some of our influence, based on our somewhat unique independence of action, were we to accept gifts from any legislatively active organization."

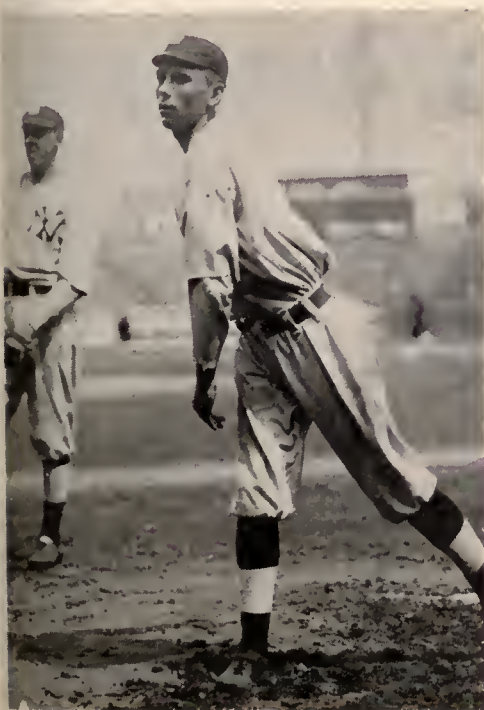
So independent, the Kingmans have friends on both sides of the Congressional aisles. And in turn, they have given their political support to both Republicans and Democrats who share their sense of the public interest.

Of all the causes for which they have lobbied — conservation, government reform, tax reform, defense of the Supreme Court — the most important to Harry Kingman is that of civil rights. *Pomona Today* asked him recently to summarize his experience with this year's civil rights legislation. What follows is Harry Kingman's report.

"Race relations in this country — currently one of our chief unsolved domestic problems — may get worse before getting better. But the strong action taken this year by Congress, in its passage of the 1964 civil rights bill, constitutes a long forward stride. At last the legislative arm of our tripartite national government has clearly and decisively joined the other two in the giant task of ridding the nation of the racial sickness which has hampered us at home and abroad for so long.

"Optimism is justified. We remember that 7½ years ago almost complete pessimism prevailed in Washington. No major civil rights legislation had been enacted since Reconstruction. But a watered-down voting bill was passed in

AT NEW YORK, 1914 — Southpaw Kingman warming up in Yankee uniform.



AT WASHINGTON, 1962 — Harry and Ruth Kingman discuss legislation with the late Senator Clair Engle in his office. Engle supported them on civil rights bill.



We are all deeply indebted to Harry Kingman — such men are almost unique. At a time when most of us would welcome the ease of retirement, he began a challenging new career. On his own, refusing to be discouraged against formidable opposition, he has vigorously fought for better legislation in our Nation's Capitol. Few have given so much of their lives to ensure man's birthright of equality and liberty, and I treasure my years of friendship with this inspiring and courageous man.

Earl Warren

Chief Justice, U.S. Supreme Court

For thirty years, Harry Kingman has inspired the men and women of every generation to lives of tolerance and respect for the rights of others. We all, and particularly my wife and I, are indebted to him for his unselfish leadership.

Robert S. McNamara

Secretary of Defense

Harry and Ruth Kingman have been wholehearted and effective spokesmen for civil rights and for good government. It has been a pleasure working with them on occasion. They deserve the thanks of all Americans. They have my warm appreciation and respect.

Sargent Shriver

Director, The Peace Corps

Harry Kingman is a very unique American citizen. His hopes and ambitions are for his country and not for himself. He believes in principle. "Equal justice under law" is, to Harry, an historic American principle and not a sham. His unselfish labors in our National Capitol have materially strengthened the cause of decency in our country. He is a real great guy.

Thomas H. Kuchel

United States Senator (Rep., California)

The Kingmans have been effective and able supporters of almost every good cause which has come before the Congress for action since 1957. Because of their personal charm, they have been able to gather around themselves a host of influential people both on Capitol Hill and around the White House. The Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play is a strong force for good.

Joseph S. Clark

United States Senator (Dem., Pennsylvania)

1957 and was strengthened in 1960. This time a genuinely potent and comprehensive law was attained when the Senate approved limiting debate, for the first time in history in a civil rights struggle, by a vote of 71 to 29. So Congress, which had dragged its feet for so long, has finally given powerful statutory force to securing America's noble ideals of equality of opportunity and justice for all.

"So far as The Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play is concerned this, its eighth, was its most productive and significant year. Working in cooperation with the admirable federation of civil rights lobbyists, The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, we were given heavy assignments concerning most of the West Coast Congressmen during the January-February phase of the contest in the House. A strong bill was passed, 290 to 130.

"The Leadership Conference then moved its operations over to the Senate side where the main task during the next several months would be to try to help line up 67 Senators who would vote cloture in order to end a filibuster. During the many weeks of oratory our small Citizens' Lobby was in touch on some aspect of the struggle with 22 Senators. Starting out, the civil rights supporters were reasonably sure of approximately 50 favorable to ending debate after a

reasonable time. The Humphrey-Kuchel leadership on the Senate floor did not want a cloture vote taken until success was assured. As the weeks passed additional favorable commitments were slowly tabulated, and the civil rights lobbyists met daily to make fresh tallies, discuss the problems, re-assign the names of senators still undecided or non-committal.

"When the cloture vote was finally taken and we watched from the gallery, our Leadership Conference group felt tense, indeed. If everything went right we figured we'd win by a margin of two votes; the 71-29 outcome meant a four vote margin. Sitting next to Clarence Mitchell, Chief of the NAACP's Washington Bureau and dean of the Capital's civil rights lobbyists, Ruth and I were with a close friend with whom I had worked during wartime FEPC days. It was he who more than anyone else influenced me to become a Washington lobbyist when I retired. Holding our breaths, and still uncertain just how the cloture vote would turn out, we looked down to see Senator Clair Engle — known to us to be near death — being carried in to cast his never-to-be forgotten vote for freedom and fair play. I glanced at Clarence — like me, he was weeping. And at the same time we were very happy."

VIII JACK KENNEDY'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The Kingmans Invited to Join the Kennedy Team

RL: I noticed the other day that you have in your home a framed picture of former President John F. Kennedy on which he'd written "for Ruth and Harry Kingman with the best wishes and esteem of their friend John Kennedy." Will you tell me how you first got to know Jack Kennedy?

Kingman: First I'd like to say that I asked Ruth to sit in on this interview today because she was in on a lot of this and she probably knew John Kennedy better than I did; when he walked through the corridors with us he didn't put his arm around me, he put it around her!

Well, starting in March of '57 when we went to work on the Citizens' Lobby and go into the civil rights fight we ran across Kennedy within the first week, and would meet him occasionally in our day-to-day work. We became quite aware of him and we had casual contacts. I think Ruth, looking down from the galleries one day, said--what was it you said, Ruth?

Ruth K: I said, "There's the next President of the United States."

RL: What made you think that?

Ruth K: Well, we'd been watching him. He'd made extremely good statements on foreign policy. He had become an

- Ruth K: authority on higher education and was giving real leadership in these areas which we felt were very important. Those were aside from our interest in civil rights, on which his position, of course, was excellent. There was just something about him. It wasn't the charisma. I don't mean that--although that probably had something to do with it. You had the feeling--when he stood up to talk--there was quiet. I don't know, I can't quite explain how I thought other than the fact that we were impressed by him.
- RL: You had been impressed, remember, during the McCarthy days when Jack Kennedy wouldn't go along with the witch-hunting.
- Kingman: Yes. I thought very highly of him from what I had heard and read and seen of him, though I never had many personal contacts with him. I was given a wonderful chance to make numerous suggestions to him during the campaign through Ben Bradlee. Ben is the present executive editor of the Washington Post. At that time he was with Newsweek. In 1960--I think about the middle of the year--I got a phone call in Berkeley from Bradlee saying that there was a national magazine, the Coronet, that wanted him to write a story on our lobby. So I said, "Okay, I'll be coming back to Washington shortly and I'll come to your office." His excellent article appeared later in the Coronet.*
- I was wearing a Kennedy button when I walked into his office and he said, "You're sure wearing the right button!" Because Ben and Tony, his beautiful wife, lived right next to the John Kennedys in Georgetown and they were very close friends. All during the campaign when I had any suggestions that I wanted to make on things that were coming up in the campaign, I would write or phone Ben and he would pass them on to Jack Kennedy.
- RL: You say you were wearing a Kennedy button. My impression from our previous talks on the Citizens'

*See Appendix 10.

RL: Lobby was that you made very strenuous efforts to remain non-partisan. How did you come to change this attitude?

Kingman: Well, we did make departures from a strict non-partisan basis occasionally. We made exceptions for Kennedy and for Tom Kuchel who was a Republican. We supported him very strongly when he ran for reelection and was reelected. I forget what year that was. For the most part we let it be known that we were Democrats, but we didn't do very much on a party basis. Certain individuals we did support, because, they were basic to what we were trying to accomplish. We wanted them in there.

RL: Well how did you become involved with the campaign? I know you both worked on the 1960 Kennedy campaign for president. Can you tell me how it started and what you did?

Kingman: Yes, I'll talk some on this and then Ruth can break in whenever she wants to.

We had the experience, after it was clear that Kennedy was going to run for president, of having Sarge [Robert Sargent, Jr.] Shriver invite Ruth and me to breakfast one day at the Mayflower Hotel. He wanted to know whether we would come on to the paid staff of the Kennedy campaign.

Ruth K: He had probably heard about us from Ben Bradlee; also from our friend, Adam Yarmolinsky, who was a member of Kennedy's recruitment committee.

Kingman: Yes, he heard about us and we had gotten to know Shriver somewhat before that. So we said, "Well, we'll sure come onto his staff and we'll work full time if you want. But we don't want to take any money for it. We'll be volunteers on his staff." So that was the way it started.

Division of Responsibilities: Civil Rights and
the Religious Issue

RL: What was the division of problems that you assumed or that Shriver assigned to you? Were you responsible for civil rights, Harry?

Kingman: Yes, I was in that department. Harris Wofford was its chairman.

A lot of our time was spent in Northern California. Ruth made all kinds of speeches. We must have averaged two a day there for several months--to all kinds of groups. We did a lot of writing. I got out memoranda for mailing. One particularly--two or three pages on why we were supporting Jack Kennedy--was sent out in considerable quantity then (maybe five hundred) to people mostly in California who were important in getting things done.

Ruth K: Harry, may I break in here and suggest that not only did you send out, as you say the five hundred that were individually addressed, but you also sent additional copies to many who wrote back asking for them.

Kingman: One thing I might mention that was fairly important, I think, happened early in the game, when the campaign was just started.

Ruth and I were invited to dinner at a friend's--George M. Johnson. He'd been a professor of law here at the University of California and he was then dean of the Law School of Howard University. Also, one of the Kennedy staff people was there--Harris Wofford.

At that time ex-President Truman was for [William Stuart] Symington for President. He was very critical of Kennedy on the basis that he was too young, that he wasn't experienced enough, particularly that he was too young.

So I told Wofford that I would like him to give the suggestion to the candidate that he answer Truman

Kingman: on TV and that in answering him he point out that throughout history some of the great things accomplished in the world had been done by younger men like Thomas Jefferson, for example. He wrote the Declaration of Independence when he was Kennedy's age or a little younger.

Kennedy did just that in a nation-wide TV pitch. Actually it was so effective that there wasn't a peep out of Truman on the subject thereafter. A copy of the speech was mailed to me at the time.

RL: Which division were you in, Ruth?

Ruth K: Well, I was working on the religious aspect of the campaign. That is, the Catholic issue, the Protestant-Catholic issue. I worked almost exclusively in that area.

RL: What was your background in that? How was it that Shriver wanted you to deal with that as your specialty?

Ruth K: Well probably because in the first place I happen to be the daughter of a Methodist minister. In fact I am the eighth generation with Methodist clergymen behind me. I had been, up until that time, quite active in church work. I had been at one time president of the Berkeley Council of Churchwomen and was in touch with a great many church groups. In addition to that I had been president of the League of Women Voters here in Berkeley and was in touch with many women's groups through that and was accustomed to speaking to large groups of women. That was the sort of thing that I was available for, and with that background in mind I had been accumulating all of the material I could around John Kennedy's candidacy, particularly having to do with the religious issue. I hoped it would prove helpful.

The Kingmans Join the Whistle Stop Train

Kingman: Kennedy was to make a train trip starting in the northern part of California making speeches from the rear car platform as the train stopped briefly in towns en route to Southern California. Jack Shelley, a congressman from San Francisco, was to be aboard. He said to us, "You folks ought to be on the train too. Why don't you be up there in Sacramento when the train goes through and get on the train there? I'll see that you're OK'd."

So Ruth and I went up to Sacramento and got on the train. Kennedy was to make a speech in Oakland that night and the train was to stop there and then start south the next morning. Our friends Edward P. Morgan and Ben Bradlee and --

Ruth K: Jack Shelley. Then Ben asked to bring a guest, remember?

Kingman: That's right. We invited them to have dinner here that night after the train got in. They came, and Ben brought the guest, Theodore H. White who has written those books about recent presidential campaigns.*

Ruth K: That was the first Making of the President.

Kingman: He was taking notes all the way on this whistle stop train. So we had dinner here and then went down to the meeting, in the Oakland Auditorium, I think it was. Then about 11 or 12 o'clock at night --

Ruth K: I am going to correct you. It was 2 a.m.!

Kingman: --the phone rang and it was Teddy White. He said, "I am in real deep trouble. I lost my notes of the last several days and I am sunk if I can't find them! Could it be possible that I left them at your house last night?"

*Theodore H. White, The Making of the President, 1960 (Atheneum Publishers), 1961.

Kingman: I said, "Wait a minute, I'll go take a look."
I found them on the sofa, under a pillow.

Ruth K: In a black notebook.

Kingman: I went back to him, "I'll get it to you in the morning." He was delighted and happy about it.

Ruth K: When his book came out he sent us a copy inscribed:

"To Harry and Ruth Kingman, with all gratitude for one of the pleasantest evening of the campaign.--- and even greater gratitude for their triumphant rediscovery of the tattered notes out of which this reporter eventually reconstructed his Chapter Nine.---"

RL: How wonderful!

Description of the Train

RL: Will you describe the set-up of a whistle stop campaign?

Ruth K: Well, in the first place a whistle stop train is used for three purposes. One is the publicity that's around it, of course. The second is that the candidate goes out on the back platform and speaks at all the little whistle stops--that being the reason for the name. Third is that at each stop the local politicians get on and ride to the next stop and talk to the candidate. They get his ear and he gets their ear. Then they get off and the new ones get on and it goes that way all up and down the route.

All right, now the make-up of the train (it was not a long train at all): there were Pullman cars. I can't say how many--maybe two, maybe three--made up of press and television people and not just their sleeping accommodations. The whole thing had been set up as offices for them. In addition to the press, the train carried quite a large staff for the Senator,

Ruth K: who had, not only sleeping cars, but office cars as well. They were just old cars; they were really dilapidated--the whole thing was dilapidated except the Senator's private car. It was early 19th century but beautiful. You know, with all the velvet and brass and crystal chandeliers and whatnot--which was fun. Only certain people he invited in there. I remember I made a terrific booboo, the first thing when I got on. I wanted to see what was going on in the back and I walked right straight through that car as if I had a right to be there! I realized afterwards what I had done and I thought, "Oh oh. That was bad."

RL: Did anybody say anything to you?

Ruth K: No, no. Nobody would have said anything if they had seen me. They wouldn't have said a thing, no. Then there was a parlor car in between the press section and the Senator's section.

RL: What happened in the parlor car?

Ruth K: Well, the parlor car is where the visiting firemen came on to talk to different staff people. That was where we were most of the time, when we weren't off the train when we were at station stops. But we traveled in the club car. It was a club car really and they had a bar set up and it was the typical, I would say, smoke-filled room. Highly exciting and highly charged--the tension was great all the time.

I love to tell a little human interest story about Kennedy on this trip. He was basically a very shy person. He really had--not as much as his brother Robert--a New England reserve. If you remember, Mrs. [Jacqueline] Kennedy was having another child very shortly after this, and because of that she couldn't be on the trip with him. His sister Pat Lawford traveled with him and would go out on the platform when he was introduced by whatever local politico would do the introducing.

The first time that we heard him speak--and we always went outside and mingled with the crowd--the first time we heard him speak he apologized for his

Ruth K: wife not being there, saying that she was unable to go with him on the trip--that was all. The next time we stopped he was beginning to warm up a little to these crowds and he said, "I am very sorry that Mrs. Kennedy couldn't be here. She isn't well."

And at the next stop, he was beginning to get his sense of humor going and he said something like this: "I am very sorry that my wife couldn't be here. As you know she isn't very well right now."

And of course everybody knew about it and laughed. Finally at a later stop he said something like this, "I am sorry Jackie couldn't come today but you know she is having a baby. In fact, she is going to have a baby boy and he is going to get here before election."

It was pretty funny to watch him go from small town to small town, warming up all the time. But it was interesting to watch the people. We always mingled with the crowds.

RL: I'd like to ask what you felt about the newspaper coverage. I noted that Ruth Finney thought it was poor in California and that the Nixon campaign got much more and much better coverage.

Ruth K: I don't remember. Do you Harry?

Kingman: No, I don't remember it.

Ruth K: Ruth Finney was supposed to be the number one political reporter in the state. She was with the Scripps-Howard press and was living in Washington, but was a real expert on California politics, having lived out here for many years, working on the San Francisco News. Of course we didn't see all of the state press. We felt that there was a great deal more that should have been done in public relations, both in the press and in other ways up and down the state.

RL: By the Kennedy campaign?

Ruth K: Yes. I felt it particularly in the Central Valley. Remember Harry, we told them this? We pled with them

Ruth K: after we had been on the whistle stop train. We'd talked to the crowds, asking, "What is your feeling about Kennedy?" There we were, a couple of grey-hairs, and people didn't realize that we were from the train.

Nearly every time they would say, "Well, of course I am for Kennedy, but oh this community!" They still couldn't take the Catholic thing. They just didn't want any part of it. Many had come from the Dust Bowl of Arkansas or Oklahoma and still clung to conservative, Southern Baptist beliefs. Because the area was traditionally Democratic and seemed safe, the Kennedy public relations staff miscalculated and failed to do what was needed. That is why Kennedy lost California.

RL: The vote of the Valley went to Nixon.

Ruth K: Yes. It wasn't that they were for Nixon. They were against Catholics. We told Kennedy's campaign staff that, at the time. I'm sure that this is what Ruth Finney had been talking about rather than in terms of the amount of coverage. She just felt that the publicity was bad or inadequate.

RL: What were the crowds like at the station stops?

Ruth K: Good, very good. It was always a good turnout. Of course, the advance man is responsible for that, and the local organization takes care of the details. It is one of the political facts of life. That is the sort of thing that is arranged pretty well ahead of time.

The Kennedy organization was pretty slick, smooth. In each town, right out on the station platform alongside the train, they had had long tables set up. And I mean long; maybe twenty foot tables, with at least fifteen or twenty telephones for use by the press. The reporters could call every little while to their home offices, most of which were in the East. It wasn't done with the local press. It was done nationally.

But there were big crowds and lots of posters, some music. It was exciting. It was well enough

Ruth K: attended. The crowds got larger. Naturally they would be in the larger towns. I would say they were very well attended.

RL: It must be a very grueling experience for the candidate. How many speeches did he make in a day?

Ruth K: I'd say around ten or fifteen probably. Of course it's usually the same speech, except for putting in the local color and mentioning local problems. The candidate had always been briefed by the man who got on at the stop ahead so that when he was introduced he knew what to talk about in terms of the local problems. But other than that it was pretty much the same speech. We could all make it at the end of the trip!

RL: You didn't get tired of listening to the same speech?

Ruth K: Well it is hard to explain all at one time! I would say in the first place, there is a great deal of trivia. But the trivia is all a part of the whole and one gets to the point of seeing where the trivia fits in. For instance, as far as the whistle stop train is concerned hearing the same speech over and over in the little towns was not a boring thing. It was exciting because in each of the little towns the senator was introduced by the local congressman or somebody in the local set-up where the local problems were considered more important than the big national question. And to watch the senator weave the local problems into his speech, it was always fascinating to see that he could make a real personal appeal and pledge, which he did--that was exciting. It kept the whole thing from being too repetitious. It wouldn't have been boring anyway because so many people were getting on and off the train.

Ruth's Memorandum on the Importance of Black Religious Leaders

Kingman: But the important thing on the whistle stop train was that Ruth met Ken O'Donnell. Ken O'Donnell was one of the two or three men closest to Kennedy, one of the so-called "Irish Mafia" as was Larry O'Brien, whom we also got to know very well. Ken came to Ruth and said--you tell it, Ruth.

Ruth K: He knew what I was working on. He asked me if I would write a memo for the Senator giving my ideas and suggestions on how I thought that the church people--particularly the church people in the South, and most specifically the black church people in the South--could be approached on this whole religious issue. So I said I'd work on it.

RL: Was this after Kennedy made his West Virginia speech?

Ruth K: Yes. It was also after he spoke to the ministers in Houston and I had all of that material. So I said I'd write it out. I wrote him a memo.* Then, when we got on the whistle stop train in Sacramento, I gave it to Ken O'Donnell and he gave it to the Senator. The next morning, riding down the San Joaquin Valley, the Senator came to me and said, "Ruth, I am very appreciative of your having written this. I've read it and there are points in it I can certainly use." We were quite delighted.

Very shortly after that Martin Luther King was put in jail for demonstrating in Atlanta.

Now, one of the things that I had suggested in my memo was that a great deal of attention should be paid to the religious leaders in the South because they are--they were then even more than they are now--the arbiters in the community, all those small communities down in the South. I mean that black people look to their ministers, their pastors for guidance on not only politics but economics and everything else. They are social arbiters, they are everything.

*See Appendix 11.

- Ruth K: So I said, "If you can get them persuaded, you've got a lot done. Sometimes those ministers can't take a partisan position. They feel they shouldn't. But very often their wives can. The wives of the pastors will do it and I suggest that you keep that in mind."
- Kingman: And she put Mrs. Martin Luther King at the top of the list.
- Ruth K: She was the top one and I listed several others. We were excited to notice that when Martin Luther King was jailed in Atlanta, the Senator telephoned to Mrs. King and that she came out very shortly after with a strong statement in support of Kennedy. Many people thought that that was the thing that really swung the black vote, which, due to Kennedy's being a Catholic, hadn't been at all secure. They felt that Mrs. King's leadership had made a big difference. We don't know, of course.
- RL: But it was such a close election --
- Ruth K: You can't tell. Any one of many things could have done it. But that was certainly one that may have, and that made us feel very good.
- Kingman: That's right.
- RL: The Democratic Convention in Los Angeles
- RL: You went down to Los Angeles to the nominating convention, didn't you?
- Kingman: Yes, that's right, and one of the first interesting things that happened was in the California delegation, which was staying at the Knickerbocker Hotel. There was a lot of [Adlai] Stevenson strength in the delegation. We were very strong for Stevenson, too, but we felt that in this case Kennedy was the man to beat Nixon. Two or three days before the vote was to come to the convention floor, the California delegation took a preliminary vote. When we heard that they had

Kingman: voted, I think it was thirty-one and a half for Stevenson to thirty and a half for Kennedy, Ruth and I figured, by gosh, the thing we had better work on right away is to get to the several delegates that were our friends and had voted for Stevenson and try to get them to change by the time of the Wednesday night vote. So although Ruth and I in Congress never have claimed to change votes and that sort of thing, we did in this case talk to several of our friends like Bob Ash who was Secretary-Treasurer of the Alameda County Labor Council.

He told me on Monday night that he was for [Stuart] Symington and Tuesday he was noncommittal and it wasn't until I got Mrs. Peter Lawford--Pat Lawford, Jack Kennedy's sister--to help me to talk with him again that Bob said, "Maybe." He was a very important labor person.

I hadn't known Mrs. Lawford but just the day before my good friend Gene McAteer, then California state senator from San Francisco, had introduced me to her. So we both worked on it and Ash changed his mind. In fact all three of these men changed their votes to Kennedy when the important tally was taken.

RL: Who were the others?

Kingman: William Roth and Jack McFall.

RL: William Roth was president of the Matson Line?

Kingman: Yes.

RL: And important in many other things.

Ruth K: He's a regent of the University [of California] now.

RL: Who was Jack McFall?

Kingman: He was and still is a congressman from California. Roth had voted for Stevenson in the Monday poll, but when Ruth and I bore down on the extraordinary development, growth, maturity and capacity we had witnessed in Jack Kennedy during the last four sessions

Kingman: of Congress and he admitted that we'd cleared up some things that had been bothering him he--like Ash--swung to JFK.

As far as Jack McFall was concerned, there was no real problem. As soon as I heard that his alternate at the Monday night meeting had voted for Symington I got in touch with Jack and he said he was going to vote for Kennedy. As I remember it, in addition to these three who swung the delegation vote Wednesday night to Kennedy, there were three other delegates who had voted for Symington on Monday who promised Kennedy workers that they would vote for JFK on the second ballot. I forget their names.

Ruth and I were circulating on the floor all during the exciting and crowded session when the nominations were made, the voting took place, and John Kennedy was nominated. The following afternoon I attended the press conference when JFK announced he had chosen Lyndon Johnson as his running mate.

The Dawson Meeting to Persuade Black Delegates
to Support Johnson for Vice-President

Kingman: Ruth, tell about the Dawson meeting.

Ruth K: Oh, the Dawson meeting. Well, the morning after the selection of Lyndon Johnson as the vice-presidential candidate, Congressman William A. Dawson, who is a veteran black congressman from Illinois, called a meeting of all of the black delegates and their alternates from the entire convention. They were to be addressed by John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. The meeting was primarily to acquaint the black delegates with LBJ. Most of them were perfectly happy to accept Kennedy but they were appalled by the idea of Lyndon Johnson. To them he was a Texan who had voted against civil rights; they didn't realize that he had recently been helpful in passing civil rights legislation.

Ruth K: Because Harry and I were two of the three or four non-black people to be invited, it was particularly interesting for us to see what happened. The reason for our being invited was that Harry was scheduled to work on the civil rights issues of the campaign.

So we went to the meeting. At first there was so much grumbling going on that the meeting could hardly start. Many of the delegates were reluctant to let the television cameras in. They didn't want pictures taken of themselves at such a meeting for fear that when they went back to their constituencies they'd be in trouble. Finally Kennedy and Johnson came in and of course everybody was supposed to stand up for Kennedy. Well, they didn't mind standing up for him. In fact, everybody stood up except one person. I remember him very well. He just sat stolidly in his chair. He wouldn't have anything to do with Johnson. Incidentally, he later became a great supporter of both men.

John Kennedy introduced Lyndon Johnson, saying very briefly that he wanted him and had asked him to be the vice-president because he felt that the campaign should reach into all parts of the country and the administration should be representative of all of the people. Well, Johnson stood up and there was utter silence; no applause, no anything. He began to talk and was very wise in his approach. He said right off, "I know that most of you don't want me here." You know, he admitted it. Then he went on to say--and he was very clever here, he said, "I think that probably most of you are, as I am, Southern Baptist."

"We are all Southern Baptists. Remember there is a hymn we used to sing in church: 'Where He leads me I will follow.'" At that they began to perk up, you know, all folksy. He said, "Where John Kennedy lead me I will follow. If you people will follow this leadership, I promise you that within four years"--how did he put it, Harry? "In four years they would gain more, the blacks would gain more than they had in the last one hundred years."

Kingman: Correct.

- Ruth K: Anyway, he went on and talked a while. Then Kennedy talked and when they left there was a standing ovation. Scores were clamoring around to shake hands. The support of the black community throughout the country wasn't assured by any means but at least part of the opposition had broken down by that time.
- Kingman: Right. But regarding the attitude toward Lyndon Johnson of black supporters of Kennedy I might throw in a comment regarding something that happened the afternoon before the Dawson meeting. As I said earlier, I attended the big press conference in the Biltmore Hotel when John Kennedy announced that LBJ was to be his running mate. Many of the Negroes there, including several campaign staff workers--although they may have expected it--were unhappy with the choice. I went from the press conference to our campaign civil rights staff room upstairs. Several of the black staff workers were in despair. I was on a friendly basis with them and tried to cheer them up. Being aware of some of the helpful civil rights moves that Johnson had made in Congress during the past three years, I expressed certainty that he would turn out a lot better than many expected.
- RL: Harry, were you ever sorry that you spoke so favorably of Lyndon Johnson's attitudes on racial matters?
- Kingman: No. He carried out the promises he made at the Dawson meeting to work for justice for non-white Americans. He lost me, personally, later on by his position on the war in Vietnam, but on race matters he did extremely well while in the White House; so much so that he made critics and even enemies among some of his former friends in Texas and elsewhere. Going back to 1957 when our Leadership Conference on Civil Rights began to help pass one after another of five major civil rights bills--the first since Reconstruction--LBJ was distrusted by most of our member lobbyists. I soon began to realize that, treated with more confidence and friendliness, he might give us important help. It worked out exactly that way. I recall one occasion when, while President, he plugged for racial fair play with such enthusiasm that he even used the term "We Shall Overcome." This drove many of the racists in our country up the wall.

Kingman: The phone call I just answered was from Peter Grothe, a good friend of ours. He'll be here in a few minutes for lunch. It must have been in about '58 or '59, that he came to us from Senator Hubert Humphrey's office where he was a staff member, to get our ideas on a plan to form what he called a Peace Corps. He asked us what we thought of the idea, and after some discussion Ruth and I told him we thought it had great possibilities. Grothe continued to work on the concept, and when Jack Kennedy became a candidate for President it was brought to his attention.

Ruth K: We happened to be in the Cow Palace in late 1960 when Kennedy announced that if he were elected he would form a world wide American youth service organization to be called The Peace Corps. Peter Grothe merits a lot of commendation for his part in bringing about that exciting move to enlist idealistic youth in a very successful undertaking.

Bishop Pike Decides to Support Kennedy

Ruth K: A great many Protestants were not ready to accept a Catholic in the White House. You might be interested to know what happened when Harry and I interviewed Bishop Pike who, as you know, was the Episcopal Bishop in San Francisco.

Kingman: As a part of his program he was operating a very popular television series.

Ruth K: He'd go on TV and was very potent. Although even at that time he was more than slightly controversial, his word was still listened to. In reply to a letter Harry had written him he wrote that he was very reluctant to come out for Kennedy. The thing that bothered him more than anything else, apparently, was the Catholicism. So Harry and I got an appointment with him.

RL: That's interesting, because after all Pike was born a Catholic.

Ruth K: I know, but that sometimes makes the strongest anti-Catholic--and the same thing happens the other way around. So Harry and I went over and had a long talk with the Bishop and found that the thing that was bothering him most was what Kennedy might do on an international basis in relation to population control. Would he oppose birth control information and subsidization (if another nation requested it) because of his Catholic background? I said "No, he wouldn't."

RL: What was your authority for saying that?

Ruth K: My authority was the speech Kennedy had made in Houston. It was absolutely there in black and white and I knew it. I saw it in my mind's eye on the paper I had at home. I told the Bishop that I would be very glad to send it to him and he said, "I wish you would." So we came home and I looked it up immediately. Finding it, I copied the proper quotes and, together with two or three other things, mailed it over to the Bishop with an apology for sending it so that he would get it on a Saturday. I well knew from my own experience with a minister father that Saturday was no time to bother a cleric with anything other than his sermon material. Anyway, the papers were sent.

On Monday he was quoted in the press as coming out for Kennedy and said that he had had some questions in his mind about one particular problem but that it had been cleared up and that he was definitely coming out for Kennedy, which meant of course that that was the go-ahead for a lot of the people who listened to him--if he wasn't going to worry about that, they weren't going to worry about it either. So I felt very good.

RL: You're always so modest, but I should think that this is a really clear-cut case where you can say that you did swing an influential person's vote by presenting him with accurate information.

Ruth K: Yes, that was one time I was very glad that I had gathered together all the things that had to do with the religious issue that I could think of. It was possible for me to put my hand on Kennedy's speech immediately, when it was needed.

Campaigning for Kennedy's Election in California

- RL: In the northern California campaign I gather that you and Ruth worked extremely hard. Can you estimate how often you spoke and to what sorts of groups and where, before and after the whistle stop campaign?
- Kingman: Well, we made ourselves available to the Kennedy headquarters to speak whenever they wanted us to. Ruth is a much better speaker than I am; she spoke far more than I did. But I did mail out a lot of stuff that I wrote; we got considerable reaction to it. California was lost by a very small margin, but in the northern part of the state, the Kennedy campaign did pretty well. For example, Kennedy won by only 114,000 votes, I think it was, nationally, while here in Alameda County there was a margin of 33,000 for him. Also, San Francisco did very well for JFK. I still think the most important Kingman effort during the campaign was what Ruth helped bring about--that Mrs. Martin Luther King phone call. That could have made the difference.
- RL: Ruth, did you do a lot of your speaking to luncheon groups and womens' groups?
- Ruth K: That's right--to some social groups, but largely either political or religious.
- RL: What do you mean by social?
- Ruth K: When I say social I mean groups like the Berkeley Womens' City Club, which might have had a study section on political problems. That's a social organization pure and simple, doing an educational thing. Because the League of Women Voters doesn't do anything on a partisan basis I didn't speak to any League groups as such. However, many League women would ask me to speak to other groups or at coffees in the morning. But I spoke largely, I think, to religious groups because they were the toughest by far to reach; they simply were not ready for a Catholic President.

Ruth K: In some of the evangelical groups there was a stronger feeling than there was in others.

RL: When you say "religious" in this context, do you mean exclusively Protestant?

Ruth K: No, not exclusively. As far as I know, most--at that time and subsequently--most of the Jewish community were registered Democrats. But there was a great deal of scepticism on the part of many in the Jewish community, not only on the Catholic problem. This as you probably know, is a long-term thing of one so-called minority being a little reluctant to align itself with another so-called minority.

RL: I think that one of the problems was that Stevenson was so strong.

Ruth K: Oh very, very strong! This is what we met at the convention. However, once we got the actual nominations behind us we had the feeling that the pro-Stevenson people ought to get off their hands and most of them did. Almost all of them did.

RL: What about the womens' groups?

Ruth K: They were often very "suggestible." I had some negative reactions but it would be pretty much on the same two things that religious groups were bothered about. One was birth control. They weren't thinking so much about the international impact of it as Bishop Pike was. The position that Kennedy took was that any nation asking for help in population control should get it. That was all the Bishop asked. On the other hand, Kennedy had always said that he would never let any of his religious training affect his administrative judgment within the constitutional requirements of the office. So the thing that would bother most of the women would be whether or not the Pope was going to take over, so to speak. That and whether or not there was going to be disapproval of Planned Parenthood for instance, and some of the other organizations that were working for population control. We didn't know the words "population control" in those days. But I was able

Ruth K: to dispel those worries--usually. Then they ended up sometimes worrying because Kennedy seemed so young. But then I'd quote Harry's memo referring to Truman's change of heart on the subject.

No, I think it went very well. Enough so that I never did come away, as I remember, from any of the meeting particularly discouraged. I probably should have been, but I wasn't!

RL: [To Harry Kingman] What about your speaking engagements?

Kingman: Ruth was our Lobby's speech-maker.

Ruth K: I'll tell you what we used to do--just what we're doing here! It worked out the same way. Harry and I would go to meetings together. He would do certain things and I would do certain things. I would take certain questions and he would take certain questions. We've worked that way over many years. It ends up with me doing most of the talking. But he has most of the facts! It is your facts I work on, Kingman.

Kingman: Hey, cut that out. It would be hard to find a better informed person than you.

I remember I made one trip back to Washington in September on business having to do with the campaign. Flying home again, I was lucky enough to sit next to a very important Negro leader from Illinois, a state that Kennedy had to win. He had to win it and it was going to be terribly close. I don't have permission to use the person's name so I won't mention it.

I got on the plane from Washington to come back to California and he was on it. I had known him for some years, and he was on his way to San Francisco. When I found that he was going to vote for Nixon I spent hours telling him why I was working for Kennedy's election. I gradually brought him over. Finally, when he got off the plane he said, "Okay, Harry, I'm going back to Illinois this week and I'll get into the thing back there for Kennedy."

RL: How did Illinois go?

Kingman: Illinois was a narrow victory for Kennedy.

RL: Well, there is another of the things that you cannot say definitely, and yet your persuasion may have been crucial.

Ruth K: Knowing the man, I think it probably was crucial.

Election Night

RL: Election night must have been an exciting one for you.

Kingman: That's right.

RL: What did you do, Ruth?

Ruth K: I don't remember where we were election night. I don't even remember its being exciting, other than the fact that before I called it a day I did something that I'd been wanting to do for a long time.

As you know, north Berkeley isn't exclusively Democratic--although now it is much more so than it used to be; long ago it was anything but. I had seen bumper stickers and all sorts of things around for so long with Nixon's name on them that I just thought I had to do something about it, that's all. Something had to be done. While the campaign was on I happened to get one of the great big posters, as large as that window pane, about four by five feet. It was a Kennedy picture and underneath it, the name "Kennedy"; that was all. So, before I went to bed election night I pasted it up in the window. The next day it was there and as I stood out in front of the house, admiring it, Harry took a picture of me. We still have that picture of me and the great big picture of a smiling Kennedy. I think that was our big celebration!

The Inaugural Ball

- RL: Then you got invitations to the inauguration?
- Ruth K: Oh yes.
- RL: I've got a lot of questions about that. The first one I'm going to ask is, what did you wear and where did you buy your dress?
- Ruth K: I wore, right and proper, a long ball gown. In those days we were wearing very full skirts with much petticoats and what-have-you. It came from Kaufman's Drapery Shop on University Avenue.
- Kingman: It must have cost several hundred.
- Ruth K: Oh, yeah? Kaufman's Drapery Shop handles materials to make curtains with. I went down and bought what I think--I still think--was an unusually beautiful piece of drapery material and made my inaugural gown. The material plus the pattern, plus the material for the petticoats that held the bouffant skirt out, cost \$11.95--the whole thing! I wore it with great satisfaction. In fact, I don't think I ever felt better in anything. In fact, if you want me to be truthful about it, another woman in our party had on a Dior Original, and I wouldn't have traded mine for it!
- RL: That's wonderful!
- Kingman: I had a lot of fun with that because I didn't hide the fact that I had made it. I was rather proud! It was a very exciting night.
- RL: There were about four balls, as I recall.
- Ruth K: We went to the main one, in the Armory. I remember when the President and Mrs. Kennedy came in. It was very exciting, although the ball, as such, was more of a brawl. It was so crowded that no one could dance. There were bands all over the place, lots of music, lots of noise, lots of celebration going on. But as far as being a ball was concerned, not much of a ball! Harry didn't feel up to going,

Ruth K: so he stayed home.

I remember the last four blocks--we had to walk through the snow holding our gowns way up, knee-high, and walking through the snow with--yes, I did have galoshes on. When we had to get home, of course there were no taxis. It was ghastly! When we got out in front of the Armory we didn't know how we were ever going to get home. Then a young man driving by in a car all by himself slowed down, stopped and asked us, "Do you want a ride?"

And he took us home! He took me home right to my doorstep. I have no idea who he was, just a nice young man. So, I hitch-hiked home from the inaugural ball!

RL: Did you watch the actual inauguration?

Ruth K: Harry did. It was so cold on the Capitol steps that I watched it on television from a nearby congressman's office.

Kingman: Oh yes. I went to the inauguration. I remember it was cold as heck!

Ruth K: And Kennedy stood there without a hat! Remember when something began to burn in the lectern while Robert Frost was reading his poems? Oh, it was terribly cold, but inspiring, just the same.

An Evaluation of Kennedy

RL: How well did you get to know Jack Kennedy during the campaign?

Kingman: We never got to see him very much personally.

Ruth K: We didn't try. We didn't want to intrude. It wasn't necessary.

Kingman: But he was--we know that he was very appreciative. He wrote us and told us a number of times how much he valued what we had done. We really fell for this young man.

Kingman: At a Washington baseball game one day, I ran across the well known Chicago attorney, Hi Raskin, who was a friend and supporter of JFK. He told me that on one occasion he had flown to San Francisco with Kennedy on the Caroline during the 1960 presidential campaign. After the landing, he and Kennedy were standing at the door of the airship waiting to disembark. John Kennedy pointed and said to him, "Oh, there are two friends of mine that have been working hard for me, Harry and Ruth Kingman."

It is interesting that he wasn't particularly liberal when we first began watching him and hearing him. But he was a very fair-minded person and compassionate for less-advantaged people. I remember-- I heard him say it, I think--that he felt jealous of some of his friends who had really gotten basic liberal attitudes and feelings and drive when they were young. He said, "I am working on it and I am making progress." Which he was, because he certainly was moving in that direction.

On this question of what Kennedy would have done say vis a vis reopening communication with the Peoples Republic of China or what he would have done in connection with the war in Vietnam, one of the last things that Kennedy said before he was killed was (he said it to one of his associates), "We're not committed to this ongoing, everlasting unfriendly attitude toward Peking and toward the Chinese people."

As to what he would have done about the war-- well, Kenny O'Donnell, his close associate came out last year with a strong statement saying that the President had told him that he was not going to carry on this war. I think Bobby Kennedy also made the statement that his brother certainly wouldn't have continued the war--as it was continued--because he was not devious, which our government was for so many years--carrying on the war the way it's been carried on, doing it without the knowledge of the American public in large measure. It was done secretly. Jack Kennedy just wasn't that way. He

Kingman: couldn't have carried on that sort of a thing.

RL: Just as a footnote to the Far Eastern problem, I noticed that you wrote to Ken O'Donnell in September and suggested that Kennedy learn to pronounce Chinese names correctly. Did this have any effect?

Kingman: Well, I did a lot of that sort of thing. I'd make little suggestions, particularly on some of the things having to do with Taiwan and the things that were obstacles to renewing friendship with the Chinese people. I delved into lots of things, you know, and I'd send my observations and conclusions to my friend, Ben Bradlee, and he got most of them to the President.

RL: Well did Kennedy's pronunciation change?

Kingman: Yes, he'd pick up things like that.

Ruth K: I remember noticing it at one of his press conferences, Harry--you and I laughed about it. He did change. I've forgotten what the Chinese name was. But he pronounced it correctly and we laughed about it, "Well, there it goes!" I don't remember exactly what it was but I remember noting it.

RL: Did you meet with the President after his inauguration?

Ruth K: I don't think so. We could have. I mean there was no problem. It is just that it would have seemed presumptuous to us for Harry and me to try to take up his time. We never did feel much in the way of being able to say, "I told the President," or "I did this or he did that." In those terms we didn't try to create situations in which that could happen.

Kingman: Ruth and I, during the campaign, got to be on friendly terms with Ken O'Donnell; he became John Kennedy's Appointments Secretary in the White House and his closest political advisor. Had we felt justified in seeking to confer with the President I have little doubt that O'Donnell would have arranged it.

Kingman: Ken has recently authored an impressive and nostalgic book of memories of Kennedy under the title Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye.* This title was an adaptation of a line from the lyric of an old Irish folk song.

This week the new book was mailed to us from Kenny at his home near Boston. On the frontispiece he had scribbled "To Harry and Ruth: We fought the same battles for so long, and your example gives us all courage. Ken O'Donnell."

RL: With Kennedy's margin of victory over Nixon being so narrow, what do you feel now, in retrospect, about the importance of your activities in his campaign?

Kingman: I guess we pretty well covered that. We did a number of things which they felt were very helpful to them.

Ruth K: That memo first of all. [To Harry] Your memo.

Kingman: Yes. I got a good reaction to that. We like to think that we really helped.

Ruth K: Well, a lot of people in the country can say, "If it hadn't been for me--!"

Kingman: Yes, that's right. A lot of things, if they hadn't happened, he wouldn't have won.

RL: Now, sadly, nine years after his assassination how do you estimate his presidency?

Kingman: Well, of course we went all out for this guy. We really admired him. I think that he is going to be important in American history--and I sure hope he will be, because he was unusual in the way that he inspired young people, not only in our country but around the world. His major accomplishments: I

*Kenneth P. O'Donnell Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye: Memories of John Fitzgerald Kennedy (Little and Brown, Boston, 1972).

Kingman: suppose the first one was the way he handled the Cuban missile crisis. That will be something long remembered. He was very anxious to end the cold war and the nuclear test ban act was very important toward that end.

Ruth K: I think that was his greatest achievement.

Kingman: It got so that he and [Nikolas] Krushchev, who was of course the power in Russia while John Kennedy was in the White House, could communicate. Krushchev started by being ornery when they met in Austria, their first meeting. But as things went along I think those two men got so they admired each other. As a result we were putting the cold war further and further behind us and I think that would have continued.*

But Kennedy--we loved his wit, for one thing. Oh, how we used to savor the things that he would say in a witty sense. He used them most successfully when he debated against Nixon and in his frequent press conferences! He enjoyed debate and was always forthright and out in the open--non-devious.

RL: One of the many criticisms that was made of Kennedy and the Kennedy Clan and the "Irish Mafia" to which you referred was that they were politicians, in the bad, old sense of Bossism. Do you want to comment on that?

Kingman: Well, that was connected a lot with his father. You know his father was very controversial. Kennedy was suspect when Joe McCarthy was throwing his weight around; it was said that the Kennedy boys were really backing McCarthy. However, we were told that McCarthy didn't like Jack Kennedy at all.

Kennedy was forthright and actually there was a feeling while he was in the White House, not only in this country but around the world that maybe society can be improved, that maybe we can get rid of war and that sort of thing. He loved athletics. He wasn't too great an athlete himself, but he used to play touch football and golf, and was an enthusiastic sailor.

*See Appendix 12 for letter to the Honorable Nikita Krushchev from Harry L. Kingman, September 4, 1961.

Kingman: I remember a funny story around the White House. There was a new security guard who, when he saw a bunch of young guys playing touch football on a very much manicured White House lawn yelled at them "HEY, YOU GUYS GET THE HELL OFF OF THAT LAWN! Oh, I beg your pardon, Mr. President!"

Another thing that might interest you -- . You may remember that President Kennedy received an honorary degree here in Berkeley on Charter Day, 1962. That same evening, Robert McNamara was guest of honor at the UC Alumni Association dinner as "Alumnus of the Year." Ruth and I were quite excited when, the day before Charter Day, one of McNamara's associates, Adam Yarmolinsky, phoned to tell us that there were two seats available on the McNamara plane, and that we would be welcome to use them to go to Berkeley, and to return to Washington, as well. We were delighted, of course, knowing that just going on that plane would assure us of the resulting series of parties, celebrations, etc. However, second thoughts made us realize that by accepting we might possibly lay Bob McNamara open to criticism for taking unofficial guests in his official plane. So we most regretfully declined the invitation. Later, Bob told us of the tumultuous reception Jack Kennedy met here in Berkeley. We were glad, of course, and not too sad about what 'might have been.'

RL: Where were you and Ruth when John Kennedy was assassinated?

Kingman: The day that our nation and the world lost John Kennedy I was in Washington and Ruth was in Berkeley.

I felt shaken and sunk and lonely. I tried to find Ben Bradlee but he was at the White House. I drove out to Edward P. Morgan's home and was lucky enough to find him and his wife, Wendy, there. It helped to be with people who felt as I did about the President. I had phoned Ruth earlier; she was disconsolate. Later that evening I phoned Ruth again to suggest that she fly back as soon as possible. She told me later that when the phone rang she was sure that it would be me, and that she would be taking the first available flight in the morning.

Kingman: The muffled drum beat was in our ears for several days as Kennedy's body lay in state under the Capitol Dome--our apartment was only two blocks away.

I want to say just one more thing, and that is that it used to trouble me when Kennedy was President, as to what he was going to do after he served two terms, because he would still be a young man. What in the world could he do then, still being so young? My hope was that he would become a world troubleshooter on behalf of peace between the nations. That he would be available to the world to try to iron out difficult spots which could lead to war.

But we will always be glad that we got to know him a little and that he at least had a chance to do as much as he did.

XI A SUMMATION

Athletics in Retrospect

RL: As this may be our last interview, I wonder if you would like to talk about what has been your lifelong interest in athletics? Sitting here in your study, I see a large and beautiful plaque, revealing that your sports career during your four years as an undergraduate at Pomona College, brought about your later election to the national Helms Foundation Athletic Hall of Fame. It's framed in blue, and it's got lovely gold laurel leaves with a dark blue and red scroll around it, and a big crest, and it says, "Honoring Harry Kingman, 1913, for outstanding achievement in athletics. Baseball, basketball, swimming, tennis, track."

I'd like to hear you talk somewhat about athletics. I've also wondered how you ever got your studies in!

Kingman: Well, Rosemary, I wasn't much of a student at Pomona, I have to admit that. I was really dedicated to those sports, and I put in so much time on them that I didn't do well in my academic work.

Competitive sports has always been a major interest in my career, and I imagine that they have contributed quite a bit to my pleasure in life and the fact, maybe, that I've lived so long. Gradually, as I've grown older, I've had to drop the more strenuous games. Incidentally, my many years of coaching at Cal is something I'd like to talk about

Kingman: a little later. Of course, that was a side issue to my work at Stiles Hall, but it fitted in very well with my desire to call the attention of students to certain ideals and concepts.

Coaching Frosh Baseball

Kingman: I coached Frosh baseball for twenty years; I guess it was 1930 to 1950. Clint Evans, the varsity coach, was an old friend of mine, and had been ever since I was a student at Pomona. So, I was pleased, later on, when I was on the campus at Cal, to have a chance to work with Clint and to try to teach the young guys a little bit of what they needed to know when they got onto the varsity. Incidentally, the varsity baseball field at Cal was named after Clint Evans, which I approved of very much. I look back on my relationship with Clint with great pleasure.

Regarding coaching Frosh ball--I think I'll tell a couple of stories, if I may. We used to play about thirty or thirty-five games during each season, and the culmination was always a series with Stanford--that was the highlight, the best two out of three against Stanford. We did likewise with a good competitor, St. Mary's out in Moraga.

One season in a game against St. Mary's this happened: they had had a runner on first who sought to steal second; our catcher dropped the ball and the runner was on second. To my surprise I saw him start walking back to first; our little second baseman, Monty, got the ball, tagged the runner, who was then called "out." What had happened was that Monty had told the St. Mary's player that the pitch had been fouled off, and that he had to return to first base.

So, at our next practice on UC's Hilgard Field we as usual reviewed and analyzed the preceding game. I didn't criticize Monty for his duping of the St. Mary's baserunner but I said something like "Fellas, how do you feel about what happened at second base on Saturday as a method of trying to win a game?"

Kingman: They talked it over and unanimously decided, including Monty, that, no, it would be much better to prove that we're better ball players.

So, a couple of weeks later we went down to play Stanford--second or third game--about the middle of the game Stanford got a runner on first, he started to steal second, our catcher dropped the ball, and he was safe on second. Then I saw to my amazement that the Stanford player started walking back toward first, with Monty coming behind him with the ball. I yelled, "Hey, Monty," from the bench where I was sitting. Monty heard me; he looked at me, and he stopped and said something to the Stanford player, and the Stanford player ran back to second. At the end of the inning, when Monty came into the bench, he said, "Harry, I'm sorry, I forgot."

Another story about the Frosh. There was one year, I remember, when early in the season I was having them practice sliding into a base, and they weren't doing very well. There were two or three little kids playing right near there on Hilgard field, where our diamond was, and one was my daughter Beverly--she was maybe ten years old. When Ruth and Beverly and I would go to Laguna Beach on summer vacations, Bev and I used to run along the beach and slide, to see who could get a foot into an object first, maybe a paper bag or a piece of seaweed or something. She had become a good slider. So, that day my boys were not doing very well. Maybe they kind of hated to take off and really hit the dirt as they had to do to make certain kinds of slides.

So, I said to the squad, "You fellows are really not making much progress here." I said, "I think that little girl over there could even show you something," and I motioned to her. "Little girl, please come on over here." I said, "These fellows are not doing too well on their sliding. Do you think you could make a hook slide to the left of the bag?" She said, "I'll try." And she takes off and makes a beautiful hook slide on the left side of the bag, and the guys' eyes popped out.

Kingman: I motioned her to come back, and I said, "Now, I want to have you make a fall-away slide on the right side of the bag." And she makes another beautiful slide, and then she went back to her play. I didn't tell the fellows that she was my daughter, and it wasn't until they came to dinner at our home--an annual event--at the end of the season and found this little girl opening the front door, that they realized what had happened!

RL: Have you got any more of those wonderful stories?

Kingman: Okay. Well, there's another story that I think Stan McCaffrey tells. Stan was on my team back in '34 (he's just recently become President of the University of the Pacific), he's a great guy, and he likes to tell stories about things that happened when he was in athletics here at Cal. He has several on me. I remember one story that I think was his, had to do also with this Frosh baseball that I've been talking about.

We had a very good pitcher, and were going down to Stanford to play. This guy who was going to pitch that day didn't show up for the early bus. Ruth and I had our own car, so we went and routed him out of bed. Let's call him Jack. We got him to Stanford in time, and he pitched a beautiful game. It was a one-hitter. There was one fly ball and our left fielder, he was primarily a footballer, couldn't get anywhere near it. So, then after the morning game, we all got together for lunch at a restaurant down in Palo Alto. Jack kept coming up to me and saying, "Harry, that should have been a no-hit game. How about reporting it to the press as a no-hit game?" He said, "Jerry should have caught the ball out there," although he hadn't been within thirty yards of it.

So, I said, "I'll tell you what I'll do, Jack. I'll pass out slips of paper to all the players right now, and have a vote on it. If the fellows vote that you should get a no-hit game, I'll consider announcing it that way."

Everybody had a chance to mark his little slip, one hit or no hits, and the result was announced.

Kingman: I think it was twenty votes for one hit, and one vote for a no-hitter.

So, Jack really had nothing much more to say about it. Of course, it wouldn't have been right to blame the outfielder; he couldn't have gotten to it on a motorcycle.

Also, on the baseball thing--many of the fellows that I used to coach are still friends of mine. For instance, there's George Wolfman who's the present varsity coach. In fact, I guess he's now the dean of the head coaches at Cal. George Wolfman's done a great job, and just a few years ago his team won the national championship.

My athletic interests have been very important in my life because they have given me contacts with so many people who might not have been interested in other things I was doing. Sports were a very good and worthwhile part of our relationships, and I still like to watch a good game on TV or listen on the radio.

RL: I have a feeling that your interest and your success in sports, as you're saying, really fed into your other careers, from your army career, China, your university career, right on through the Citizens' Lobby, where it seems to me that you made friends and contacts through your baseball or golf or paddle ball. Did you play paddle ball?

Kingman: No, I did pretty near everything, but not paddle ball!

RL: I noticed your having written to a congressman about co-op housing, and asking how his paddle ball was coming along.

Kingman: Yes, it's a game. I did play some hand ball and also squash, until Bill Davis got so he could beat me, and then I changed to less strenuous competition.

By the way, Bill's unexpected death [February, 1973] from some strange illness hit me hard indeed. He was a source of strength and vital friendship for forty years. Just recently, I had nominated him for

Kingman: the distinguished Koshland Award given each year to some outstanding California social worker. I raised the question whether a posthumous award could be made. This has apparently not been done before, but John R. May, Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation, writes me that this could be done by the Award Committee if it so decides. Here's hoping; Bill Davis, in my opinion, sure deserved it.

RL: I have a feeling that you have indirectly said a lot of things about sports, but perhaps directly, you have a feeling about its educational quality as well as the enjoyment of sport for sport's sake.

Kingman: Well that's right. It does help lots of people with their life values. I undoubtedly overdid it personally. I should have done a little more studying, for example, at Pomona, instead of spending so much time in athletics. I've undoubtedly wasted time on it, but on the whole it's something that I'm glad I took an interest in. I certainly have made a lot of friends through it.

Lawn Bowling

RL: Now that you've passed your eightieth birthday, do you still compete in athletics?

Kingman: From time to time during my life, I've had to discontinue one game after another as it became too strenuous. Finally, in my middle seventies, I developed so much arthritis I even had to drop golf. Before I became completely housebound, a neighbor suggested that I experiment with the mild game of lawn bowling. He praised it, and said the only possible undesirable aspect of it was that it tends to extend one's life an additional decade!

I joined the forty year old Berkeley Lawn Bowling Club in west Berkeley in 1967 and soon found the game a fascinating one. Though my delivery of the bowls is unorthodox--in that I have to bowl without a moving step--I score pretty well. My

Kingman: health has been greatly improved, and my doctors have advised continuation of the pastime regardless of the pain. Sooner or later, I believe lawn bowling will get to be very popular.

RL: Hasn't there been a move by a committee of west Berkeley residents to replace the lawn bowling greens by a neighborhood park?

Kingman: Yes, and it appears that the matter is being handled amicably, and to the advantage of both young and old. My wife and I have familiarized ourselves with the recreational needs of west Berkeley and have felt strongly that it would be desirable to provide another mini park there primarily for small children. We are gratified that this is being done by the city.

RL: Changing the subject, hasn't the Berkeley LBC been criticized on the basis that its membership is all white and is unrepresentative of west Berkeley?

Kingman: The first time I visited the Berkeley Lawn Bowling Club to watch the play, I was pleased to see that there was a very capable black bowler playing. I assumed that he was a member of the club. Later on I learned that he was a visiting greens keeper from Los Angeles.

I decided to do something about it, and began talking up the game among some of my Negro friends. I persuaded Byron Rumford to join in 1968, and he bowled frequently until he took an attractive assignment with the Federal Trade Commission in Washington, D.C. He has retained his membership in the BLBC. I have worked hard on other non-white and local neighborhood Berkeleyans, as did several other lawn-bowlers, but either they were already committed to tennis or alley bowling or golf or something else, so we couldn't quite land them. The effort will be continued.

It has been my impression that most of our members approved of the attempt to broaden the Club's membership to include non-whites and also other residents of the immediate neighborhood. There has seemed to be considerable feeling that such a move was overdue. I wrote a letter to an elected official

Kingman: of our club in 1968 which was widely circulated among board members and past presidents emphasizing the desirability of stepping up the attempt in west Berkeley to diversify and widen the opportunity to lawn bowl. I ended up stating, "I feel certain it is in the best interests of the BLBC to have someone pose the question before some crisis arises." I am hopeful that progress will continue.

Dr. Harry Wellman, former Acting President and long time member of the faculty at the University of California has been a top officer in the bowling club during the past two years, and has provided strong constructive leadership in the situation.

Loving Recollections of Father and Mother

RL: You mentioned that your father was your greatest hero and said that, in the course of these tapings, you would like to talk frankly about him and certain other members of your family. Shall we proceed on this?

Kingman: Yes. My long life has been tremendously affected by my parents--and by my wife, and I would love to think and talk about them. Much of the genuine happiness of my nearly eighty years is attributable in large measure to them.

As I told you, my Boston-born father became a missionary, a Protestant missionary, to China. He was a professor in a Chinese college in Tungchow, south of Peking. He married a lovely English girl out there, whose parents were missionaries representing the London Missionary Society. They had sailed to China in 1861; and had lived out their lives there.

My mother, I think, was the first white child born in north China, because her folks went there shortly after the treaties made it possible. She was born in Tientsin in 1862, where I also was born, in 1892.

Kingman: Then, my daughter was born in Shanghai in 1924, so our family's China ties go back quite a way.

My father's health broke down quite seriously in 1899, which was just prior to the Boxer uprising, the Boxer Rebellion, in north China. We had fortunately moved to southern California ahead of it.

After regaining a measure of strength, my father became pastor of the Congregational church in Claremont, southern California, which had a large attendance of Pomona College students. His health was never fully recovered. He was almost constantly in some kind of pain, and I can still remember as I would walk up the stairs, coming in late, and pass his room, I could hear him gasping and fighting for breath. In those days, asthma hadn't been adequately controlled by medical science. Here was a man of great courage, exemplifying everything that was a vital part of his Judeo-Christian faith. For two decades he carried on his ministry in Claremont, in the sole Protestant church there. Unfortunately, a lot of Protestant churches grew up there later.

RL: Why do you say it was unfortunate?

Kingman: Well, that's a long story, as to why the Protestant churches have weakened themselves by having all kinds of little splinter-offs and competition for the same potential membership.

He carried on his ministry, despite his miserable health, and he wrote several books*--two or three of

*Henry Kingman D.D., A Way of Honor (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, Edinburgh), 1911 210 pp.

Ibid Character Under the Master Builder (Association Press, New York), 1919 166 pp.

Ibid The Place of Jesus in the Life of Today, A Series of Unconventional Talks on Some of the Present Day Realities of the Christian Religion (Association Press, New York), 1922 90 pp.

Ibid Helpful Thoughts for the Daily Way n.d., n.p.

Kingman: which are still to be found in some of our best libraries.

Our dearest mother cared for him and aided him as he fought to carry on a ministry which influenced many young people particularly, until his death in 1921, at the age of fifty-eight. I remember I used to think of him--he had a heavy beard--as an old, old man at fifty-eight. Now I'm only twenty-two years older than that!

His two last short books dealt with the life and teachings of Jesus. The first was titled, Building on Rock; it was published by the national YMCA. The second was Helpful Thoughts for the Daily Way. During much of my life I've started out the day by reading briefly from these. Of the second publication, his last one, he wrote me, "It was a real comfort to read your words of appreciation of the little booklet, because I was not sure whether the work was worth the doing. Over and over again, I was inclined to give it up, because it seemed dull and commonplace. Yours was the first judgment about it that has reached me. So I thank God I had the courage. It's not easy to satisfy myself now, and whatever I do is at the expense of an inordinate amount of labor. Fortunately, that doesn't matter much, because I have time enough and more."

In my opinion his writings, as I read them, are still as viable and timely as they were a half century ago.

Recently I read written words of his concerning the price one must pay who attempts to put fundamental democratic or religious ideals into effect:

You will meet with strife and turmoil. You might as well plant a boulder in the middle of a swift stream and expect it to hold its place without rippling the oily smoothness of the current. You might as well place good Mr. Faithful in the streets of Vanity Fair and expect to avoid a collision. The mob will surge down on him. You must count on painful and persistent opposition. There must be iron in his soul if he expects to win.

RL: You've told me that you were greatly influenced by your parents; would you care to discuss this?

Kingman: Well, my parents were completely without race prejudice, and of course they influenced me and my sister and brother because of that. Regarding my father's tremendous influence on me in respect to trying to be a person of integrity--our family never had much money, and nevertheless--here's an example: as a clergyman, my father had a pass on the street railway between Claremont and Los Angeles, and I asked if I could borrow it once. He thought he could not honorably do this, and so he gave me the fare instead.

We kids gradually got the idea that our lives would be happier and less complicated if we stuck to the simple truth, so we didn't have to think back, "Well, what did I say that time?" and avoid lying and deception of any kind. As a result I think that none of us three children ever tried to cheat anybody or harm anybody, and I guess we never had an enemy, partly as a result of the emphases of our parents.

RL: I really like your willingness to talk personally and frankly in these tapings. You said that your life has been a very happy one. Has that been the case all along?

Kingman: Well, I guess there was only one period where that wasn't true. That was when I was about seventeen and eighteen, and I really messed up my life there for a while, selfishly and foolishly. I think I mentioned earlier in our tapings that I managed to get out of this thing largely with the help of a religious experience. But at that time my sole interest was in athletics, and I knew that I was handicapped because I'd gotten hooked on cigarettes, and I knew it was hurting me and holding me back, but I couldn't quit.

There was another time, later on during the year and a half I was in the army and expecting to go to France, that some of the ideals I had treasured were slipping. I remember I was in New York, and I went over to visit my grandmother in Brooklyn. In her

Kingman: living room I saw a letter from my father, and I asked if I could read it. She said, "Yes," and in the note he commented on his and my mother's love for me, and their apprehension because of the war danger. And then he added, "Harry is a good lad, and a good lad he'll be 'til the end."

I excused myself and walked the streets, and determined, "By God, that does it; I'm not going to let them down." And I don't think I did.

I have a letter to my dad here, that was written from Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Georgia, later that year. "Dearest father, Merry Christmas. How I wish that I could be home to say it to you Christmas Day. Christmas Day used to be the happiest day of the year for me. Not many people get the joy out of Christmas-time and spirit that our family used to get. Everything in childhood that is good and beautiful was brought to me by you and mother. Next year, I hope we shall all be together at Christmas. I guess that we all appreciate our home, we three kids, more now than ever before." I concluded this note, "I wish that my own life could even come close sometime to being as wonderful, noble and useful as yours has been, Father. You have been an inspiration to countless numbers of people. The thought of you has pulled me through dangerous places more than once. I love you. I can say with the utmost sincerity that you are the finest man I have ever know. Your loving son."

And I felt the same way about our mother.

RL: Excuse me Harry. I'd like to ask--I find the letters very touching and very moving, and I find--I don't know any people who would write that sort of letter now. Could you also speak to your father that way? Did you have this ability to express your emotion to him face to face, and your feelings for him and your mother?

Kingman: I think that I wrote it more than I said it. I was part English; I had some English reserve.

My mother was a lovely person who helped my father through his difficult years, and made it possible

Kingman: for him to accomplish what he did.

RL: In what ways did she make it possible?

Kingman: Well, she cared for him so, and then she helped him in his work. I remember reading about when he first went to China, and one of his jobs was to go out to the countryside to little villages, and to talk about Christian ideals and hopes and responsibilities, and all that. She would go along with him, and while he became very good in Chinese, her Chinese was perfect. She'd grown up there. She would meet with village women in some little inn. She would talk with them, they would hang on her words, and were greatly attracted by her spirit and kindness.

But he was so badly affected by his illnesses that he had to have all sorts of help and care, and she was always right there year after year. Just marvelous.

RL: I would like to go back and ask something I didn't ask in our earlier interview--what sort of a mission was it in China? As I recall your father was attached to a school --

Kingman: A college, yes. But it was prior to that time--he first had to learn Chinese, and he made great progress in that --

RL: That would be Mandarin.

Kingman: --Then his mission would ask him to go out to some little Chinese town and preach. But that was I think fairly rare, when he did that sort of thing. Because later he was mostly a professor.

Regarding my mother, here's what my father wrote. He dedicated his last publication to her. "To the dear wife, who has lightened every task along the way, and who speaks with me in every sentence of cheer or hope or love within these pages."

Shall I add something that the doctor said?

RL: Yes, please do.

Kingman: The day that my father died, his physician, Dr. Arthur Stoughton, was with him. He was a close personal friend of my father's. He told us later that when my father closed his eyes for the last time, he heard him whisper: "It is extraordinarily beautiful."

The Family Motto: I Have Tried

RL: Before we started the taping today you were mentioning your uncle, Dr. Bernard Lees.

Kingman: And also I referred to his family motto. Ruth and I visited England in '53, I think it was. We visited the old gentleman, who had been a distinguished physician, and who was very old by this time. One day when I was taking a walk with him, I asked him what the inscription was on his beautiful signet ring. It was in either Greek or Latin. He replied, "That's our family motto--'I Have Tried.'" Ruth and I were so impressed that we decided to take it over for ourselves; and we have passed it on to Bev and her children.

He was a great old gentleman. He was an old Cambridge Blue--an oarsman--when he was an undergrad, a distinguished physician for many years. I had the warm feeling when I last saw him before his death that he had lived up the family motto.

Maxwell and Edith Kingman Chaplin

Kingman: My sister Edith I always loved and admired. A bitter tragedy robbed her of her husband Maxwell Chaplin way back in 1926 in China where they were serving as Presbyterian missionaries in an inland city, Hwai Yuen. Our families that summer had planned to vacation together at the attractive seaport of Tsingtao, Shantung Province. Max arrived by train and came to the ocean beach to join us in a swim. After a few

Kingman: minutes he told us that he wasn't feeling well, and retired to his hotel.

The deadly cholera season was at its height. Early in the evening I was informed that he was stricken with it--flies in the train's diner had apparently infected his food. I sat with him for several hours that night; an early phone call to me the next morning informed me that he was dead. Max was an athlete as an undergraduate at Princeton University, and a good friend of Woodrow Wilson who was then the University's president. Max was one of the most admirable men that I ever knew. The two Chaplin children, Maxwell and Patty, never had a reasonable chance to know their father but have been inspired by his life. Max, Jr. has been in the U.S. State Department for years and seems on his way to an ambassadorship.

A Celebration of Ruth Kingman

RL: I've enjoyed so much getting to know your wife, Ruth, and interviewing her about her wartime experiences with the Fair Play Committee that helped Japanese-Americans. I know that she's been very important in your life and in helping you to try to carry out your family motto, "I have tried." What about Ruth?

Kingman: Well, you can say that again, Rosemary. I could speak of her now with the same deep feeling of love and gratitude that my father wrote of my mother. What a lucky guy I was that I waited until I was thirty years old before I settled down and decided to get married and that Ruth was the one, a rare person!

The first time I ever saw her was at UC's Greek Theater in 1919 or 1920, where she was in a play, and then a few months later I attended a big party in old Harmon Gymnasium, a campus party, where she was the featured gal singer of the evening. I had returned to Stiles Hall after World War I, and I was coaching the "Goofs."

RL: What are the goofs?

Kingman: Now called the Reserves in football--at that time I was a volunteer on Andy Smith's football coaching staff. Ruth's first glimpse of me was at a womans' rally in Hearst Gymnasium. I was making a football speech, and she remarked to a girl friend on that occasion, "For such an eligible looking man, that shaggy dog story of his is pretty corny." Actually, I still think it must have been a darn good story.

RL: Would you care to tell it to me?

Kingman: Uh, uh, how did it start?

RL: Oh, Harry.

Kingman: No can do; I really don't remember it.

Well, we got acquainted, but we weren't actually engaged, when I departed for service in China in the fall of '21. At thirty years of age I knew plenty of attractive women. A pretty gal to me was like a melody, and I was not yet ready to settle down, and I guess I was pretty fickle. I was honest with my girl friends; I didn't lie to them. I fully intended to get married some time. The inspiring partnership of my father and mother made me feel that marriage was very important in one's life. I somehow clung to the concept and belief that sexual relations were something special and should be saved for marriage. If I were to think back to some of the alluring opportunities that I experienced when I was a young chap, while playing pro baseball in New York, the army in Atlanta, a bachelor in China and Japan, I might marvel a little at my determination to safeguard the best possible relationship with my future wife. But it did remain intact.

I make no particular claim of high morality or superior judgment, but I know that the way it all worked out for me, at least, seems to have helped bring happiness in a marriage partnership which has become better every year.

RL: Did you ever talk to your father or your mother about these things before you were married, when you were growing up?

Kingman: I don't know. Probably not right out like that. But I knew how they felt, of course. The way they lived had influenced me without question.

But this all worked out well, and Ruth's and my love and respect for each other and our shared interests have continued to bloom.

RL: Don't you ever have spats or get fed up with each other?

Kingman: Well, almost never. I guess several things have helped on this. For example, we discount flareups, which might occur when one of us is over-tired or feeling poorly, by refusing to carry over any grudge or resentment. One idea that we agreed on at the outset was that each of us should feel free to have friends of the other sex, and jealousy has never been any problem whatsoever.

Another idea that has worked well is that we should try to get apart from each other for awhile at least once a year.

A few years ago, speaking of Ruth, Marquis and Company began publishing a Who's Who of American Women, in which Ruth was listed. Among other activities, the volume noted that she was Executive Director of the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play during and after World War II, on behalf of justice for loyal Japanese-Americans who were evacuated from the Pacific Coast. In China at one time, she was coach of China's womens' volley ball team in the Far Eastern Olympic Games. (This was, I think, in 1923). She was soloist of Saint Paul's Chapel at Columbia University in '27 and '28. She had been director of the International Oratorio Society in Tientsin, China, in 1926. She was director of the Christmas pageant in the Japanese Relocation Center in Topaz, Utah, in '42. She was lecturer for the British-American Associates in London in 1953, traveling around different parts of that tight little island. She was president of the California Council for Civic Unity in 1946. On the executive committee for many years of the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union. She was president of the

Kingman: Berkeley League of Women Voters in '49. She was director of the Berkeley YWCA. She was associate director of the "little but oh my" Citizen's Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play. Of course, she's also the mother of a lovely and talented daughter, who has produced what I think are three of the most winsome and talented grandchildren imaginable.

Her spirit is one of the most wonderful things about this dame. One small example. Occasionally in different cities where we've lived, I'd maybe be driving her to a grocery store on a shopping trip to pick up some food. Often I'd park where I could see her while she was in the store, particularly when she reached the desk of the cashier, who very often was exhausted or bored to death, and I'd watch the latter's face as Ruth reached the counter, and so many times I'd see her face light up because of the momentary encounter with so blithe a spirit.

RL: Yes, I've had the same experience myself in coming here in the dumps, and talking to Ruth for a few minutes. I wish they could bottle it.

That's quite a spread. Both your sets of abilities. Ruth, of course, has been the musician of the family, and you've both been athletes and politicians par excellence.

Kingman: Thank you.

Daughter and Grandchildren

RL: Well, what about your daughter, Beverly Walter?

Kingman: Doubtless you are getting somewhat sceptical about my enthusiasm and praise for some of my relatives. Actually, I'm not exaggerating. That truly goes for Beverly too. A beautiful person, loyal to her parents, recently returned after years of teaching in the American School in Rio de Janeiro, where she was head of the English Department. She's an individual of great ability and charm, and you'll probably expect me to say that she also attempts to

Kingman: live in accordance with our family motto. Well, you're so right.

Even back when her children were small and she was waiting table in Hollywood, to help with family finances, while her husband was working for a graduate degree, I wasn't surprised when she got herself fired. She was working in a fancy drive-in restaurant. She was well-paid and was getting substantial tips. The manager saw her one day serving a black customer. He called her to his office and told her that although it was illegal to refuse service to Negroes, it was the policy of the restaurant to give them the slow-down treatment so that they wouldn't come back.

RL: When was this?

Kingman: I guess about a couple of decades ago. But she, after leaving the manager's office, talked with some of the other waitresses, and they didn't like this policy either but said, "Honey, you'll never get tips like this anywhere else." Bev of course refused to comply, and was summarily kicked out. The next place where she worked as a waitress, her income dropped by about forty percent.

She's a honey, believe me.

The family was with us in Berkeley this last Christmas, and so far there seems to be very little generation gap between all of them and their increasingly ancient grandparents.

When our daughter returned from Brazil with her three teen-agers to be educated, she had to find a teaching job. Fortunately she landed one in the San Diego School Department. She requested and was given placement in a continuation high school where most of the pupils have had difficulties of one kind or another in other schools. Many of their problems stemmed from continuing relationships with juvenile justice departments or from family tensions.

I saw an annual school yearbook this summer [1972] in which her pupils had written their reactions to their teacher of the past year. They almost all

Kingman: wrote of their admiration and love for her, of her interest in them as individuals, of her skill in adding to their knowledge; several wrote that never before had they learned anything in school. Beverly, herself, awaits the next day's work with enthusiasm and great satisfaction.

Incidentally, Rosemary, I had a marvelous letter from Bev at Christmas times after I'd written that I was going to have some major surgery in January. Shall I include it at this point?

RL: Please do.

January 1, 1973

Dearest Dad,

Your sweet letter and most helpful check came the day after I'd left for L.A., so I received it last Tuesday (Dec. 26) when we got home. Thank you so much for the loving thoughts and prayers.

Of course I'm somewhat apprehensive about your surgery, but even if the worst occurs, one of the many gifts your life bestows on others is a relatively calm acceptance of whatever lies ahead for you. We don't have to agonize over unfulfilled promise or wasted years on a too-short life span. We can only feel as you must have felt about your own father--joy and gratitude for the inspiration of a life so beautifully lived.

I really believe you when you say your principal feeling now is of good fortune and gratitude for the extra years and rich rewards they have brought. Everyone has some regrets as they get older, but surely you have had fewer than most!

All this notwithstanding, I confidently expect you to be around for another 10 years or so--in good bowling form, too. Modern science, your own faithful stewardship of the



Montage of Buttons

Audrey Wallace, Photographer & Artist
Rosemary Levenson, Photographer

Kingman: excellent body God gave you, plus a shrewd gambler's sense of the odds make you a formidable contestant. And whatever happens, Dad--you've already won the game--brilliantly.

Love, kisses, hugs--

Bai Bai

Our Dog Buttons

RL: Here's Buttons again! She must think it's snack time. I'm very flattered that she seems to like me so much. Perhaps you'd like to bring her into your story?

Kingman: Yes Rosemary, I sure would. I wrote something about the small pooch, our littlest dear friend, not long ago. I'd live very much to insert it at this point.

RL: Fine.

Kingman: Our 19-lb. canine cutie appears to be the product, we guess, of a mating between a wire-haired terrier and a schnauzer. Ruth and I have been fortunate enough to have owned a number of excellent dogs during our half century together. In fairness to them we gave up pets temporarily during the years our Washington lobbying necessitated our being away from home so much. But as soon as we became stay-at-homes in 1970 my wife promptly checked in at the Berkeley Humane Society. I received a phone call from her to the effect that there were two attractive pups that she would like me to come down and help her choose between. I held them in my arms and then commented something like "Gosh, the tiny diffident one with the bright black eyes looking out from her small bewhiskered face kinda gets to me." So we paid the \$5 price, and took home a little person who has subsequently won our hearts and our admiration. This would be a brighter world if more human beings were as

Kingman: affectionate, loyal, sensitive, self-disciplined, intelligent as this small canine.

As one who had been involved in sports throughout my life I have been fascinated by the fact that this little streak of lightning apparently decided that being able to catch and immediately return a rubber ball to the hand of the thrower deserved perfection. From morning 'til night she has a ball with her, or in her nearby toy box, in the hope that someone will play catch with her. With her small mouth and set of beautiful teeth she makes sensational plays that even a pro baseball player wearing a mitt could scarcely duplicate. With her tail waving furiously from side to side, and going at full speed, she makes catches and pick-ups of the sphere--even those over her head in the direction she is running. Her body control is such that she never collides with chair legs, tree trunks and potted plants in the patio as she darts through small apertures to make the flying plays.

Buttons looks one right in the eyes when one speaks to her, and has learned so much English that, if Ruth and I want to say something we don't wish her to understand we sometimes resort to Chinese. She is beginning to savvy that too.

On a couple of occasions when I phoned home from Washington I asked that the receiver be held to the little pooch's ear. When I spoke she began to violently wave her tail. Then I said "Buttons, where's your ball? Go get it." She raced off into the kitchen or patio, or wherever she left it, and dashed back with it to the phone.

This little creature loves us dearly, and often reveals it. Whenever we change clothing, for example, she sniffs it with concern that we may be going out; if she thus learns that we are leaving her she depicts utter dismay, and even seems to shrink to a lesser size. She appears to divide her loyalty equally between us even though it may mean that she sits in an uncomfortable position on my footstool while I am reading. She possesses senses of hearing and smell that

Kingman: no human can attain, and seems to feel deep responsibility for guarding the home.

This smallest Kingman is highly sensitive. She tries hard to please us, and to avoid anything her brain thinks we might not like. For example her own conscience doesn't permit her to sneak food off a plate. Recently I was with guests in our patio just off the living room and heard her signaling me by modulated yapping from indoors. I remarked "Oh, I think I left a cracker by my chair," We looked in and sure enough, there she was with her nose a few inches from the biscuit which she could have gobbled up without permission, or any one knowing. Naturally she was given the tidbit.

Buttons has a remarkable sense of humor which she exhibits in numerous ways. For example when I sometimes carpet-sweep a wall-to-wall carpet she insists on dropping her ever-present ball right in front of the sweeper so that I'll need to knock it out of the way for her to scramble to get. Sometimes I pretend to kick it one way but direct it in the opposite direction; the maneuver rarely fools her. Since she considers herself a regular member of the family she doesn't permit us to ignore her presence very long. If necessary to get our attention she will drop her ball into a wastebasket or into an open drawer so that she can request assistance in its recovery.

We have some very dear friends who live across the street, Tim and Audrey Wallace, who stand very high in Buttons' graces. Audrey, a very fine artist, created a framed montage of the four legged friend. She first took scores of photographs of the small fielding star jumping to catch balls; ten of these shots were chosen to surround a larger center photo of the performer's appealing bewhiskered countenance. This masterpiece came to me as a surprise birthday present from the Wallaces and is one of my most prized possessions.

- Kingman: We know that when we daily leave the house Buttons will have spotted the sound of the returning car, and that we'll receive a delirious welcome. We love her. I guess I go so far as to feel that she is the closest link I've ever known between so-called human beings and so-called animals--between mankind and a sweet, small mongrel doggie. A universe which can produce and achieve so lovable and intelligent a little person as this can't but have something good going for it. Ruth and I agree that if by chance we are fortunate enough "to visit Heaven" we are sure "the sweet small beastie" will be there. Have I exaggerated our feeling toward her? I don't feel that we have.
- RL: What about your retirement plans? Will you remain in Berkeley?
- Kingman: I couldn't leave the University relationship; Ruth likewise. Originally, when we were eligible for Pilgrim Place, an excellent retirement home in Claremont, Southern California, we thought we would end up there. But as the years pass we find that we can't bear the idea of leaving either the University or Berkeley.
- RL: I notice on your wall that you were given the University's "Berkeley Citation."
- Kingman: Yes. That was awarded at the time of the University's hundredth anniversary for my chapter in the book There Was Light.*
- RL: Do you come down to campus often?
- Kingman: Well, I'm a life member of the Faculty Club where I eat lunch occasionally with friends; a life member of the Big C Society; also of the "Berkeley Fellows." Because of my many years of coaching at Cal I have been on the comp [complimentary] list for all games ever since 1916. I've always had respect and affection for one of the world's greatest universities. So I still feel pretty close: I couldn't bear to leave it. Ruth strongly agrees.

*Ed. Irving Stone, There Was Light, Autobiography of a University, Berkeley, 1868-1968 (Garden City, N.Y. Doubleday), 1970.

Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary Party

- RL: I'd like to bring this manuscript up to date and talk a bit about the party on September 10th, 1972, when you and Ruth celebrated your fiftieth wedding anniversary. I'm so pleased I was there--it was really something. As with the invitation. It must have been a big job to get that many people together!
- Kingman: My wife did a terrific organizing job, starting plans three months ahead. Approximately 550 friends from all over were invited. Fortunately the weather was perfect, a three-girl stringed orchestra played background music in one corner, our daughter and grandchildren flew up from San Diego to help in everything. Somewhere around 200 friends appeared, but our place was not overcrowded at any one time as they had been invited in several shifts.
- RL: You let me read some of the wires, cables and letters which flooded in. If you are willing I hope you will read excerpts from some of them.
- Kingman: All right. One's 50th anniversary seems to be an occasion when, perhaps more so than any other day in one's life, your friends go all out to say frankly and feelingly what they think of you. In our case it was particularly gratifying to hear from individuals whom we had gotten to know during our thirteen years of lobbying in Washington but whom we rarely see anymore. A gratifying wire came from Clarence Mitchell and his wife whom I have mentioned so frequently during my interviews with you. His associate Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, wrote us in part:

"You have become a team and, in a sense, that is the true meaning of a 50th anniversary. The warm congratulations and clear understanding go from Minnie and me to both of you

I do not know what difference there would have been if you both had not given your time and presence to the civil rights struggle each year, but of this I am certain: there would have been a sharp difference and it would not have benefitted our side.

Kingman: As a couple who joined together in 1922 and have lived to see the world of 1972, all the while working with muscle and mind to bring about changes, you must feel deep satisfactions.

I wish I could be with you on this day; but no one, present or absent, can take from you your invaluable work for mankind."

RL: I can see why such a statement like that from Roy Wilkins would really please you. Please read some more.

Kingman: Senator George McGovern wrote:

"Thank you so much for inviting Eleanor and me...That was a delightful invitation, and we would enjoy being with you folks to join in the celebration. I am sorry we cannot attend, but we send our warm congratulations to you both and best wishes for many happy years ahead. With kindest personal regards."

Distinguished and courageous Attorney Joe Rauh in Washington:

"I can't think of any place I'd rather be than with you two. But that is not within the realm of possibility...You are great citizens, great liberals and great friends. I shall be thinking of you and shall be wishing you everything good for many years to come."

James P. Grant, an Old China hand, former student officer at Stiles Hall, fighter for humanitarian causes in U.S. State Department and other federal bodies:

"I couldn't help but think that possibly the best anniversary present you could receive is the reestablishment of working ties with China in which you were married fifty years ago--a goal to which you have devoted so much effort in recent years, possibly only second to your efforts in race relations. I know of no couple who has devoted such successful efforts to man's relation to man--white to black, brown and yellow."

Kingman: From Senator Phil Hart of Michigan:

"Fiftieth anniversaries can't be earned but when two people, who have meant so much to so many, are permitted to make that fiftieth, there are voices all over the land that want to speak warm messages.

I don't have the exact word formula, but count me as one of the many who have been helped by you, is grateful to have the opportunity to know you, and delights that there is this occasion which permits us, in a fairly organized fashion, to say thank you and all good wishes."

Lou Goldblatt of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union:

"Your invitation brings back the warmest of recollections of the years when I got to know both of you. Many changes, new scenes, new problems, with the years that have gone by... Would love to hear from you and perhaps we can get together before too long."

Walter A. Haas, Jr. of Levi Strauss:

"Our thoughts will be with you and we'll drink a private toast to two of the most delightful and remarkable people we know. Your friendship has enriched our lives as it has so many others. Your unselfish devotion to helping the less fortunate and your perception and foresight in identifying issues that have become of national concern are only a few of the qualities that have earned our devotion and admiration.

Ben Bradlee, Executive Editor of the Washington Post:

"I wish I could be there to add an effete Eastern snob's voice to your celebration. You have touched many people and left them the better for that...Love from us both."

Kingman: From Robert S. McNamara, president of the World Bank:

"Best wishes to Ruth and Harry on their 50th anniversary from two of their greatest admirers who regret very much that they cannot be with you for this marvelous occasion."

Tom Kuchel:

"Betty and I join all your friends in our fondest prayers and best wishes. We treasure your friendship and are proud of your unselfish devotion to the cause of a better humanity. Fondest regards."

Ken Young, Assistant Director, AFL/CIO, Washington, D.C.:

"I hope you two can do as much in the next fifty years as you have accomplished in the first half century. We really miss your help in the nation's capital these days. Maybe, if you were back with us, things would not be in such a mess. I will never forget all your help and encouragement in the civil rights struggles. Sometimes, I think those were the good days."

The Freddie Marches of Hollywood fame:

"We wish we could be there to lift a glass to your continued happiness...the sweetness of your relationship has only deepened. Age has turned its back on you, as it should have done in tribute to your years of service, contribution and integrity. Our affectionate congratulations."

I'll knock off on these quotes but regret that many many others are not included. I guess that only on a couple's 50th do they receive such an out-pouring of warm friendship.

Well, Rosemary, we've been working on this Oral History task off and on for about a year and a half. Now we end it. You have helped to make the lengthy

Kingman: task a pleasure.

Much in my extensive files I haven't yet gotten around to checking. At eighty years of age I guess one gets a little lazy. Since I have agreed to turn some of them over to the Bancroft Library I look forward to leisurely reacquainting myself with happenings, correspondence, and considerable writing, in order to put them in some sort of shape. Anyhow, many thanks, Rosemary.

Transcribers: Arlene Weber, Patricia Raymond
Final Typist: Keiko Sugimoto



THE STUDENTS' VIEWPOINT

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA DAILY NEWS."

Dear Sir,—As a foreigner who is personally acquainted with several of the students who have been concerned in the tragic happenings of the past few days I wish to call to the attention of the foreign community the fact that up to date the real motives of the main body of the participating students have not been set forth in the English press. Such terms as "bolshhevik tools" or "anti-foreign agitators" scarcely reveal the true *raison d'être* of student participation in last Saturday's melee. Unless the conflict is to grow more sanguinary, not only in Shanghai but throughout the whole of China, all foreigners must make immediate and sportsmanlike attempt to appreciate the Chinese viewpoint, especially that of the students.

During recent months a small group of students have been interesting themselves in the plight of the Chinese labourer in mills and factories, and God knows that Chinese labour needs a friend. Underpaid, overworked, ignorant and unorganised, Labour in this land eats bitterness. I consider this growing sympathy for the working class on the part of students one of the finest manifestations of the inherent nobility of the human heart that I have witnessed in China. To socially-minded onlookers it is an encouraging sign.

A few students who, it is said, aided in the promotion of recent strikes in certain Japanese factories may possibly have been subsidised and prompted by members of the Third Internationale. Out of the

hysterical clamour that Bolshevism is at the centre of China's present troubles it is possible here and there to discern shreds of truth clinging to the main body of unfounded utterances. But after admitting that Russian influence may have been one of the factors in the situation I am convinced that I am right when I say that the motive of most of the students who milled around on Nanking Road last Saturday afternoon was neither pro-communism nor anti-foreignism. For the greater part it was loyalty to fellow students in gaol which motivated the demonstration which ended so disastrously for all concerned.

Think back to varsity days and then try and put yourself in the place of these young chaps who felt that loyalty to their fellows demanded of them such a protest that it would carry to every ear. When these school boys determined to let the whole city know concerning that which they felt to be an injustice to their mates, they were only doing as high-spirited varsity men have been doing in all countries for all generations. Being personally acquainted with some of them I state with conviction that the students, the great majority at least, prior to the "shooting to kill" Saturday afternoon were neither pro-bolshhevik nor anti-foreign. They were typical college and preparatory school men and nothing more. No wiser and no dumber, no better and no worse, in all lands the same.

Mob psychology, of course, functioned Saturday afternoon. The crowd when it began to meet with opposition found itself doing things which its individual members had never expected to do. Indiscretions committed became so serious that fair-minded people seem to be united in agreeing that the police were justified in taking determined

action. As to the manner of the determined action to be taken I find that of scores of individuals I have interviewed only two persons have felt that the only remaining action was to shoot to kill.

A week ago there were thousands of Chinese, possibly, who might rightly have been termed inimical to the policies and desires of foreign powers and individuals in China. But to-day because of the death of these students and labourers there are millions, not thousands, who mean to see the day when foreigners will have no more right to carry out in this country such an action as Saturday's than they now have in Japan or any other sovereign nation not their own.

The situation is difficult. One high barrier confronting those who seek the way out is the unwillingness of most foreigners to consider sympathetically the Chinese viewpoint. Direct of all dire needs at this hour is the sporting attitude of "putting oneself in the other man's place."

I understand that the Student Union counsels its members "No violence." Individual students with whom I talk for the most part show an admirable fair-mindedness. Often Chinese leaders are displaying a willingness to meet with responsible foreigners to try and find a way to salvage the wreckage. It is surely the desire of the great majority of foreigners in China that no obstinate attitude of self-righteousness be allowed to cast a shadow between Chinese and foreigner that might reach far into the future. Are we willing then to attempt to look at matters from all sides?

I am, etc.,

HARRY KINGMAN

Shanghai, June 3, 1925.

MR. KINGMAN'S LETTER

Famous because as the first sympathetic public comment from a foreigner it evoked so much argument pro and con.

▲外人之觀感

有署名 Harry Kingman (按即本會學生部幹事) 投函大陸報，略謂「鄙人爲一外人，而與參預前數日悲劇之數學生相識，今願請各國人民注意者，此次大部份學生之真正主動力，迄於今日，各英文報紙猶未道及隻字，彼所稱『過激黨傀儡』，及『排外鼓吹家』等字樣，絕難表現學生參預星期六事件之真正理由，苟不欲見更多之流血使其遍及中國，則各西人必須以運動家之風度立圖尊重華人之見解，而華人之見解中，尤應以學生方面爲主，近數月來，有一小部份學生注意及於工廠中華工之苦况，此輩華工，工資既少，工作時間又長，無知識，無組織，其境况之困苦，亟需他人之援助，故鄙人認學生之能漸表同情於工人，實爲良心之最好表現，在關心社會者觀之，乃一種可以誘掖獎勵之景象，有三數學生，據稱曾助長近日某日紗廠之工潮，其人或不受第三國際者之津貼及唆使，近日喧傳過激主義爲中國目下擾亂之中心，此中固不無一二事實，然即承認俄人勢力爲造成現在時局之一份子，而鄙人敢謂上星期六層集南京路中之學生，其大部之主動力，並非贊助共產主義，亦非排外，乃因前之學生被捕，激於義氣，故有此示威之舉，結果終至威震不利，吾人試爲學生設身處地而想，若輩

因同儕被捕一時義憤之心，令其爲此種抗議，欲使全埠人民知若輩心中深覺此事之不公允，此乃年少氣盛者之常態，徵之各國各時代，莫不皆然，鄙人因與數學生相識，深知上星期六下午在捕房開槍以前，學生中至少亦有最大部份並非袒助過激主義，亦非排外，若輩非他，皆素有令譽之大中學校學生，無智無愚，不論在各地，各時代，其情形皆同，是日之事，當然有暴動之心理存在，當羣衆開始集合反抗時，其舉動遠出個人所預料之外，其行動之不謹慎，幾令心地明白之人，似皆欲謂捕房應取堅決行爲，至其所取之堅決行爲，就鄙人所訪二十人中而言，僅有二人覺開槍殺之外，別無餘地，在一星期前或有數千華人可稱之爲仇對外國對華及在華外人之政策與願望者，惟至今日，因學生及工人若干之喪生，此輩已由數千而增至數百萬，皆願外人在華不復有施行如星期六日之舉動之威權，如在日本及其他外國然，今時局極爲困難，大半西人不肯同情考慮華人之見解，實爲解決之大障礙，是故目下所最要者，厥爲運動家之態度，「爲他人設身處地而想」，聞學生會勸告各學生切勿暴動，而各學生之與鄙人談話者，亦皆心地明白公允，有閱歷之華人領袖皆表示願與負責任之西人商圖挽救之術，而西人之在華者大多數確皆不欲見剛愎態度存在華人與外人間，然則吾人果願統顧全局耶」云云。

A letter concerning the historic
"SHANGHAI INCIDENT" of May 30th, 1925,
on Nanking Road, Shanghai, China.
Carried in the press throughout China.

(1) 萬事更新

CHINESE Y. M. C. A.

Tientsin, China.

December 10, 1925.

Greetings of the Season:

Twenty five hundred years ago China's great sage, Laodze, made a very wise crack. He remarked "He who knows does not speak; he who speaks does not know." Probably he was right, but nevertheless, I am going to follow the example of my old friend Ben Cherrington, and break out with a New Year letter. Whether this will be both the first and the last I have not yet decided. Ben failed to issue his effusion last year and I am still wondering why. Was it at the request of his friends, at the suggestion of his new and better half, or out of respect for Stitt Wilson who, after perusing Ben's 1924 greeting, broadcasted a question which went something like this "Speaking of books that you have read this year have you all perused Ben Cherrington's New Year letter?" Whatever the reason for it Ben's lapse left a sense of discomfort among many, and it is in the hope that I may partially allay the hungry craving, aroused by Ben, for New Year letters, that I grind out this additional proof of Laodze's infallibility.

We China Hands have been experiencing so many different kinds of excitement, in recent months, that an ordinary civil war fails to appeal any longer to our jaded appetites. Outside of laying in a little extra coal for the winter, we go about our business as though there was no usual winter threat of defeated armies descending upon us. Possibly you also are surfeited with watching China's unrest, but probably you are not, for most of the world seems to be keeping up its interest in us.

At the time of the historic powder-burning of May 30th on Nanking Road, I happened to be only two hundred yards away, playing in a baseball game. The shots which sounded as I was about to swing at a fast one over the inside corner, bid fair to re-echo far longer than the crash of my bat on the horsehide. At present the echo seems to be loudest in Morocco and Syria, to-morrow it may be in Egypt or Africa, or possibly in the steel mills of Pennsylvania or the garment factories of Japan.

Being in fairly close touch with Shanghai students I had known for some time that frequent irritation of various sorts, was creating a huge unrest among them. Among the irritants were the following: (1) The arrogant and contemptuous treatment of all Chinese by many foreigners, a continuous performance in Shanghai. (2) A vivid and most effective protest by Dr. Sun Yat Sen during his last months against the "unequal treaties". His "Abolish the unequal treaties" was one of the most effective unifying slogans ever fashioned by a patriot, and spread like wildfire. (3) A weekly supplement in a Shanghai Kuomintang (Sun Yat Sen party) paper,

edited by a very capable ex-mission school student, which laid bare some of the weak spots in Christianity's history in China and in the world. Students in our religious discussion classes began asking questions which were sometimes hard to answer. They asked why missionaries had allowed themselves to be made the catspaws of their governments without protest, as in the case of the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany, and why Christianity should be specially favored in the "unequal treaties", and why Christian nations are constantly at one another's throats. (4) The attempt of the Shanghai Municipal Council to pass a press gag-law which would give it an even tighter strangle-hold on any who desired to criticize the "status quo". (5) The hunger for freedom, a hunger which is gripping the whole world as it has never done before, intensified in the mind of young China by the breaking of fetters on the part of Neighbor Russia and of Turkey. The Russian bolshevists whom we have heard so much about, in connection with the recent happenings in China, were undoubtedly concerned at this point. They found China uninterested in communism, but decidedly interested in freeing herself from bondage. The Russian propaganda which has hugely embarrassed other foreign powers has been her voluntary relinquishment of extraterritoriality and other special privileges. Russia's unfairness in spoiling China by treating her as an equal, has jeopardized the interests of all foreign powers who do not so treat her. The Russian bugaboo greatly over emphasized as it has been, cannot be granted a clean slate in the matter of creating Chinese discontent with servitude. (6) The selfishness and brutality of Chinese militarists and the corruption and greed of Chinese politicians and officials. The vision of bandits and traitors playing ducks and drakes with the welfare of their country, almost as much as the sense of foreign oppression, made this growing unrest on the part of students inevitable.

A few teachers and missionaries sought to guide this spirit of discontent into constructive channels, urging students to provide popular education for the illiterate, acquaint themselves with the problems of modern industry, and study international problems in an organization called "The Shanghai International Fellowship". Some of the students of Shanghai University, a school subsidized by the Kuomintang, did a thing which has been most encouraging to those who feel at times that China's ultra-conservatism can never be overcome. These students went into factories themselves, as laborers, an unprecedented action in China, and took a leading part in promoting a strike in some of the Japanese-owned mills, mills whose working conditions although considerably better than those of the average Chinese-owned factory, would be quite unacceptable to organized labor in the West. I sat in at the Mixed Court trial of one of these same students. He had been arrested as one of the ringleaders of the May 30th demonstration. As I recollect it, part of the cross-examination went thus:

"Do you not remember" the American assessor said to him "that Confucius stated that not until a man is sixty years of age is he wise enough to take a place of leadership?" "Yes, and Confucius lived over two thousand years ago" was the quiet reply. The court-room broke into laughter at the confidence with which this twenty year old student brushed aside authority which he did not feel met the need of a new world.

Foreign factory owners were quick to take alarm at the meddling of students. They knew, no doubt, that things were too good to last, but they resented interference by school boys. An example, probably extreme, of what some western capitalists have thought of the Shanghai investment opportunity can be gleaned from this quotation from the trade journal of one of the leading Western business

firms of the city, a quotation for which I am indebted to Jack Childs. "It will be seen that the company is in an exceptionally favorable position. With the raw products at its doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap labor supply to draw upon, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that its annual profits should have exceeded its capitalization on at least three occasions".

To my way of thinking it was the determination of certain foreign business interests to discourage all tampering with this "abundant and absurdly cheap labor supply," which precipitated the May 30th shooting, which in turn brought on a city-wide strike and the formation of over one hundred labor unions whose membership totals over two hundred thousand workers. On May 24th the word came to me that several students had been arrested by municipal police. The president of Shanghai University appealed to the Y. M. C. A. Industrial Department to use its influence in behalf of justice. His students had been arrested after a memorial service for a Chinese laborer who had been shot and killed by a Japanese foreman in a recent mill strike. The meeting had been held in Chinese territory, but afterwards when some of the students entered the foreign Concession carrying "anti-imperialism" banners, and began to make speeches, they were snapped up by the municipal police and lodged in the Mixed Court jail.

One of my associates, who especially interested himself in the case, told me that, to him at least, it seemed clear that someone back of the scenes had decreed that the time had come to give these "miserable students" a scare. Feeling that there had been no sufficient cause for the arrest, my friend did what he could to secure their release. He accomplished nothing. The trial was set for the morning of May 30th, and for five days the boys were left in the cells.

In the meantime, as one might imagine, Shanghai school life was in a turmoil. Whether rightly, or wrongly, the school-mates of the arrested men felt that the municipality, in the interests of foreign capitalists, was resorting to persecution; that it sought to break the spirit of any students who took too much interest in Chinese Labor. The Student Union sent out word that on May 30th all interested student bodies should stand ready to act, as in case the Mixed Court failed to mete out justice, there would be a demonstration in protest. A large group of students was on hand when the court convened, on the morning of that memorable day, to see what would happen. The Japanese assessor, claiming that he desired to make further investigations, remanded the case into the indefinite future. The imprisoned students were given the privilege of freedom upon the production of bail, but were not yet free of the clutches of the foreigner's law. And so at a little before two o'clock that afternoon the student protestors began to make known their dissatisfaction on the streets of the International Settlement, and within two hours the tragedy had taken place which was to stir all China to its depths.

As you have all read much on the shooting incident itself, I will not give my version of the affair except to state that, in my opinion, too much blame has up to the present time been placed upon the police, and not enough consideration has been given the fundamental evil in the situation. Is it not becoming quite inevitable that when two thousand aliens, living within the boundaries of a nation not their own, all-powerful because they own a certain amount of property, give orders to their police employees that the eight hundred thousand natives are to toe a chalk-line not of their own drawing and not to their own liking, is it not inevitable I repeat, that those police can only carry out orders by the help of gunfire? The

organization of the Shanghai Municipal Council functioning under the Land Regulations of predatory days, with its taxation without representation, and its essential contempt for the greater part of folk under its rule, is the major sinner if sinner there is.

Of the students who were killed I am well acquainted with the story of one only, Akim Chen, a student in the preparatory school of Nanyang University, a famous government technical college, where for three years I have been doing a good deal of coaching and officiating. Chen, a lad of sixteen, would have been noticeable in any student body in the world. "Why he should have been the one, out of seven hundred Nanyang men, to lose his life I cannot understand," one of his best friends said to me. "There was nothing he could not do. He was an all-round athlete. In school work no student in twenty years has made such a brilliant record." He was a modest, smiling, likeable kid, a leader in the Boy Scouts, a coming pitcher for the Chinese baseball team which I have been training for the bi-annual Far Eastern Olympic Games, a member of a club whose leader was K. C. Shen the big Nanyang football star and Christian, whose story I wrote for "Association Men" a couple of years ago. On the afternoon of May 30th he was to have taken part in a ball game but instead went to join his mates in the demonstration, and when the guns began to bark on Nanking Road he went down at the first volley. One of his pals is now in Canton with the Russian-officered Whampoa Cadets that you read so much about, and the student body of Nanyang is pledged to strive for the day when foreigners shall no longer be in a position to shoot down Chinese citizens on China's own soil.

Ignoring the true reasons for the demonstration, the foreign press, during the next few days, explained everything by the terms "bolshevism", and "anti-foreignism." The students were either "bolshevik tools" or "anti-foreign agitators". Not a word was printed setting forth the Chinese side of the case. After four days of this I became so fed up with the palpable unfairness of it all that I penned a letter to the foreign newspapers. It wasn't much of a letter, probably the mildest letter written by anyone for weeks thereafter. It aimed simply to interpret more fairly than the foreign press had done, the motives of the students, and it besought a spirit of fair-play and an open-minded consideration of the other man's point of view. There was an ominous silence for three days, as the greater part of the foreign community sought to recover from its surprise and dismay that any foreigner should so traitorously break the ranks, ranks which should stand firm at any cost. Then Wow! what a panning was dished out. Although it was printing abbreviated editions, due to the strike on the part of its Chinese employees, the leading British daily printed no less than thirteen letters— I think it was thirteen, anyway I remember that I was feeling quite unlucky at the time— cussing and discussing me and my impossible ideas. Having lived through the barrage of criticism that rained on me though the month of June 1925 I should have little fear of serving unpopular causes henceforth. The attack was so acrimonious and seemed so unanimous, since it was editorial policy for the next two weeks to waste-basket everything in support of my position, that even some of my friends who at first were heartily commending my letter, got into the habit of glancing at me sideways when they passed me on the street. In fairness I should say, however, that there were scores of foreigners who all the way through sought sympathetically to understand the Chinese viewpoint, and bore without flinching whatever criticism came their way for so doing.

Of course the realization of having tried to help the under-dog, at a time when a friend was needed, far more than made up for the temporary unpopularity

(I say temporary, for a great deal of foreign sympathy swung over to China's side when the war psychology subsided and a tolerant consideration of facts again became possible) that was mine among most foreigners. My letter was translated into Chinese and published all over the nation and was, of course, appreciated by Chinese who were loath to believe that all foreigners had made a god of an impersonal concept, "law and order", and had forgotten the humanities.

Senator Borah's public statements helped greatly to make it possible for the sane leaders in China to gain control of the situation. For some days it seemed to me that foreigners throughout China were in real physical danger. Borah's clear-cut demand for a square deal came at a time when there was a real possibility that an anti-foreign massacre would be the result of the "force and more force" policy of the foreigner.

China is, of course herself making it extremely difficult for Borah and other liberals to effectively stretch forth a helping hand. The nation is in disorder, and will be for many years to come. I prophesy more or less constant civil war for at least twenty five years. (I do not expect to live to see a stable government in China, in the western sense of the term, altho I do hope to see strides toward an effective, if very loose, federation of autonomous states. Trying to unify China is almost as troublous a job as it would be to try to unify Europe, even if Europe is so much smaller than China, and its people so much better educated.) I see that the new York State Chamber of Commerce petitions Washington not to make any change in the present treaties, until China stabilizes her government. If the United States should decide to follow this very general and very natural suggestion of the business interests concerned, she would not need to bother with new treaties for several decades to come.

This letter is already getting into the Cherrington class for length without having begun explain why I believe that China should be granted tariff autonomy without strings to the grant, why Feng Yui Hsiang is the only military leader that is likely to make any contribution to China, why the students, with all their faults, are unselfishly motivated and the best hope of their country, or why foreign settlements and concessions in China are prolonging China's turmoil (not, I would hint, because they make easy the smuggling of arms, or because they are the breeding place of political plots by disgruntled militarists, but principally because they protect the lives and property of China's strongest and richest men, and thereby keep them lukewarm in their efforts to curb internal militarism and corruption.) I am tempted to state the reasons why I believe that foreign consular jurisdiction in China should be nearing its end but will spare you that also. Of the urgent need for the United States to regain the freedom to follow its own conscience, instead of taking orders from the exploiters who mouth the old slogan of "Unity among the foreign powers in dealing with China", I must not speak. Respecting the desirability of giving up all special privileges which missionaries have enjoyed under the old treaties, which treaties are soon to be revised surely, I will keep silent. I will scarcely even suggest the need on the part of mission boards for a more daring policy of turning over full control to the Chinese, or mention the strong desire on the part of the Chinese that no missionary be returned to the field after furlough who is not asked for by the responsible Chinese themselves. All this propaganda I spare you. . .

When you answer this letter I wish that you would tell me of the reading you have done this past year which seemed to you most worthwhile. No doubt you scarcely remember me as a bookworm, but ever since Sherwood Eddy

impressed me with the idea of trying to read, during a year, an average of a book a week, I have been reading myself cross-eyed trying to catch up with myself. For two years I have broken the tape by a narrow margin. As I think of my reading during these twelve months I find my greatest satisfaction in feeling that I have made some new friends. One is Romain Rolland the great French novelist, internationalist and critic of aesthetics. Henry Holt & Company is publishing translations of some of his best work, notably "Jean Christophe", "Mahatma Gandhi", "Clerambault", and "Colas Breugnot". For any of my friends who are constrained occasionally to stop following the crowd and to stand alone, I especially recommend "Clerambault". It puts lime into one's backbone. Another friend, whom I have never yet seen in the flesh, is John Haynes Holmes. His "New Churches For Old" and "New Wars For Old" reveal him to be a most valuable thinker for the new day. When I go to New York I'll need to flip a coin to decide whether to go first to hear him or to hear Harry Emerson Fosdick.

A third friend of the literary world whom I want to know better someday is Upton Sinclair. If you have read much of his work you will understand why I should find an attraction in it. If, without having read his books, you accept the judgement of those whom he has made dance on a hot griddle, then you are likely to question my judgement. Of the six or seven things of his which I read, I think that his short drama "Singing Jailbirds" impressed me most. It is a powerful plea for freedom of speech and ought to be suppressed by those whose policy it is to try to suppress "dangerous ideas"; otherwise it will win many new sympathizers to its cause. Naturally I don't agree with all that Sinclair writes. I do not relish his attacks on certain of my friends. But how many men do you know who live and slave and sacrifice for a cause as wholesouledly as this socialist writer? A pen which might bring him friends and wealth brings him enemies and near poverty. Even his private fortune has gone into the project to put the gospel of social justice into the conscience of the world. Today Upton Sinclair, one of the most widely read of living writers, scarcely knows where the expense item for his next publication is to come from. It is difficult to carelessly dismiss a man whose genius and hard work are set off by a self-sacrificing life. I wish I could hope to do as much for humanity as has Upton Sinclair. And if you look upon him as anti-Christian, read the Haldeman-Julius Weekly, and get a thrill out of the way that he stands out for Jesus and His religion of the Social Passion.

Recently we have started some international discussion groups. One influential Chinese declined the invitation to join because he said he was so concerned with problems of China's internal weaknesses that he could spare no time to consider anything outside. In one of these groups we are on the subject of "China's Contribution to the World". We haven't arrived at all our conclusions yet, but the chances are that one of them will be that as the West is now sending missionaries to China, so China should send missionaries to the West. The next time you hear a furloughed missionary grow eloquent over heathen China's dire need for the western gospel, ask him to give a supplementary lecture on what China has, which the West lacks and needs. The spirit of tolerance, the dependence upon moral sanctions rather than on physical, the spirit of tranquility, the sense of harmony between man and nature, the emphasis on the family ideal, the respect for learning rather than for power resting on money or position, the ability to get along with people even under the most difficult conditions, at all these points does the "Christian" West need to sit at the feet of "heathen" China.

How the purpose of a good many missionaries is changing these days. When they came to China they thought they had come to bring western Christianity. Now they are beginning to see that western Christianity is not sufficiently an improvement over the ethical codes which China has already, to make the supplanting worth laboring for. Of course their conviction that China needs God, the God of Jesus, has not slackened. They feel more than ever that they have much to do in China, but of that which they thought was of primary importance, when they first come, a good deal now seems of trifling significance. They value the activities of many of their missionary associates and see that if they are not a downright hindrance to the Chinese quest for God and Truth, they are at least wasted effort. Their own religious faith has expanded and deepened. It is a growing faith fearing no attack, meeting all tests gladly.

During the summer Ruth and I moved to Tientsin to do some special student work. Both my mother and I were born here, and although not many old landmarks remain, it is a great pleasure to return to our first home. Ruth is singing constantly, and her music has won her many friends in this community of many nationalities. Young Beverly, sixteen month old, is thriving, and has just been given a police dog puppy by an American army admirer. I am getting my exercise refereeing basketball games, and am looking forward to a good season of baseball next summer.

This is a great time to be alive and in China; that is if one isn't too greatly bothered by a "status quo" complex. Those who think that the old ways are good enough are looking a bit sour, for many are rising up to challenge them. Fine old Bernard Shaw remarks "Any person under the age of thirty, who, having any knowledge of the existing social order, is not a radical, is an inferior". I am more or less of a conservative myself, but I am not sorry that in China there is a rapidly increasing number of people who not alone in economics, but in all matters, would gladden the heart of the well-known Mr. Shaw, to say nothing of the heart of Jesus.

Well anyhow, if you've gotten this far, here is wishing you a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Kingman

HARRY L. KINGMAN,
68 Recreation Road,
Tientsin, China.

Satyagrahashram,
Sabarmati, 18/2/27

Dear Friend,

I thank you for
your letter which is so reasonable.
Could you not give me some
reliable literature on the
Chinese movement and give
me a truthful story of current
events? I never put much
reliance on newspapers and
I am most anxious to know
what is happening now in China.

yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi

Harry Kingman Es.,
68, Recreation Road
Tientsin, China

Story of Stiles Hall: University YMCA in Berkeley Aids Nisei During War Years

Berkeley, Calif.

The unique role played by just one institution, Stiles Hall, in helping solve the problems of Japanese Americans during the years 1941 to 1948 is told in a report prepared recently by William J. Davis.

Stiles Hall, headquarters for the University of California YMCA was intimately concerned with students and other persons of Japanese ancestry throughout the war, the evacuation and the later relocation years.

The Davis report was prepared especially to assist the San Francisco JACL in soliciting funds for the Stiles Hall Memorial building fund. The chapter, which voted unanimously last year to aid the building project, will raise funds for a memorial to Nisei soldier dead of World War II in the proposed new building.

A week after the war began, Harry L. Kingman, general secretary of Stiles Hall, made a radio appeal for justice for Japanese Americans. He said, at one point, "At the university we have many of these people who are now bewildered and distraught. Most of them are as American in their hopes, attitudes, and loyalties as any of us . . . they will prove their loyalty to this nation."

Stiles Hall continued to justify and interpret this appeal in the months that followed and despite criticism, did not deviate from this policy.

Some of the most forceful work in behalf of the evacuees was done by persons connected with Stiles Hall. Names of Stiles Hall staff members and associates dotted the membership rolls of numerous organizations which directly aided the evacuees.

Harry Kingman was a co-founder of the Student Relocation Council, which helped Nisei students relocate to schools in the midwest and the east. Over twenty per cent, it is estimated, of the leaders in the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play were associated with Stiles Hall. Galen M. Fisher and David P. Barrows, two of three persons originating the Fair Play Com-

mittee, were associated with Stiles Hall, while Mrs. Ruth Kingman, who served as its executive secretary and did notable work in behalf of the evacuees, is the wife of Harry Kingman.

Throughout the war Stiles Hall continued a number of projects, both large and small, to aid Japanese Americans.

Stiles Hall members sent books and furniture to WRA centers and collected athletic equipment for youngsters in the camps. They mailed hundreds of letters and copies of the *Daily Californian*, the university newspaper, to Nisei in relocation centers and in the armed forces.

Student members of the University YM and YWCA provided volunteer labor to help the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play.

In December, 1944, four students from Stiles Hall, along with five others, went to Topaz to give special counsel to Nisei students wishing help in relocating.

Stiles Hall also administered a \$1000 grant made by the Rosenberg Foundation for needy Nisei students. Eleven persons were helped by the fund with grants ranging from \$50 to \$130.

The body of Davis' report reprints items relative to the Japanese Americans as they were printed in the Stiles Hall weekly, the *Y's Bear*. Hundreds of reports attest to the continuous educational campaign which the YMCA carried on throughout the war and into the postwar period to present the problems of the Nisei, to show their continued loyalty and to ease their return to the coast.

In hundreds of ways Stiles Hall helped the Nisei to readjust to postwar California. Stiles Hall's aggressive support of the rights of Japanese Americans, Davis says, was a "primary factor in giving to Berkeley the reputation of being a 'white spot' in the dark picture of evacuation."

Reprinted from "Pacific Citizen"
April 2, 1949



Harry L. Kingman

MURROW: This I believe. In 1915 Harry L. Kingman, a rookie pitcher for the New York Yankees, left pro baseball to join the staff of Stiles Hall, the student Y.M.C.A. at the University of California. With time out for service in both World Wars, as an infantry officer in the first and as West Coast Director of the FEPC in the second, and six years of Y.M.C.A. work in China, he has been with Stiles Hall ever since. Under his leadership it has won national recognition for its support of free speech, equal opportunity, and conciliatory solving of controversial issues. Here is Harry L. Kingman's creed.

KINGMAN: Over the years I have grown to hold a few well-tested beliefs. Five courses of conviction and action on which I base my existence are: First. To live close, night and day, to just a few invaluable religious and democratic ideals, and to dedicate myself as best I can to their attainment. In my case these have been freedom of expression, equality of opportunity for racial minorities, and conciliatory methods of handling controversies.

It was my father, my greatest hero, who helped inspire my earliest glimmer of belief that individuals are important. That was long ago. This last year, on a trip to England with my wife, it was the people of the "Tight Little Island" who supplied us with renewed faith in these tenets. Far more vulnerable than are we to enemy attack from without, and economic bankruptcy from within, most residents of that island press on self-reliant and unafraid. They remain adamant in their love of individual freedom, in their tolerance of non-conformity, in their remarkable self-discipline.

Second. To apprehend that the best in my life has come to me in connection with my faith in the God of love and truth that inspired Jesus, and a multitude of others, to attainment of the good life. I know the worth of attempting many times each day to sense the reality and nearness of the divine spirit in the universe, and to reaffirm my aspirations to be more magnanimous, more honest, more courageous, more self-disciplined. It is a simple, evolving, unauthoritarian faith that has made life rich and immensely satisfying.

Third. To realize that people are potentially good as well as bad. That without ruling out the possibility of disappointment, it is constructive to deal with others in the expectation that they'll "come through." To criticize sparingly. To commend when it might have a salutary effect. To straighten out misunderstandings promptly. To delay the mailing of a letter written in the heat of indignation. To be willing, sometimes, quietly to shoulder the consequences of somebody else's mistakes.

Fourth. To be *for* something or somebody, not merely *against*. Our nation grew strong through cooperation and mutual trust as its people undertook constructive and positive ventures.

Fifth and last. To try to be as free an individual as possible. In pursuit of this ideal to attempt to live relatively simply, stay out of debt, save something, observe health rules, be wary of falling into mental ruts. To endeavor to meet crises and pressures with the attitude of "Well, I'll do the best I can, and let it go at that." In none of these matters have I carried through as well as I should have done. At no time in the past three and a half decades have I felt that my work with university students was at all adequate. I've rarely felt justified in

preaching to anyone. I've hoped only, that I might help at least a few individuals by trying to live somewhat in accordance with what I've outlined.

I like the civilized attitude represented by a venerable uncle that I visited on England's south coast last April. I inquired about the Latin inscription on his handsome signet ring. The distinguished old gentleman replied, "It's the family motto: 'I HAVE TRIED.'"

MURROW: That was Harry L. Kingman, General Secretary of Stiles Hall, the student Y.M.C.A. of the University of California. C-Help, Inc. 1954



Ruth W. Kingman

MURROW: This I believe. Ruth W. Kingman is probably one of the busiest grandmothers in her native California. She trained as a musician at the Damrosch

Institute, directed the Oratorio Society in Tientsin, China, and was soloist at St. Paul's Chapel in New York. As wife of Harry Kingman, Y.M.C.A. secretary at the University of California, she has welcomed thousands of students to their home over the years, and loves cooking for them. She has been President of the Council of Church Women and the League of Women Voters in Berkeley, and on the Board of a number of civic organizations, including the Y.W.C.A. and the American Civil Liberties Union. During the war she was Executive Director of the Committee on American Principles and Fair Play for Japanese-Americans. Here are the personal beliefs of Mrs. Ruth W. Kingman.

KINGMAN: When my grandfather came to California as a young veteran of the Civil War, he came as a clergyman, to save the immortal souls of men who had come ahead of him in search of gold. Twenty years later, his son — my father — was riding horseback 1000 miles each month in the high, snow-covered Siskiyou Mountains, carrying Bible in one saddlebag, bear-rifle in the other, and salvation in his sermons.

Faith in immortality was still the last, best promise for the devout. Good and pious people looked forward to a peaceful life after death, whose richness would be determined by the degree of earthly saintliness that could be achieved in the rowdy West.

Fifty years have elapsed, and with them two world wars, a world-wide depression. Now we are living through a cold war of such glacial proportions that no one knows how much of the sea of civilization is being mortally battered by its underspan. What I, a descendant of religious pioneers, believe in 1954 has natural foundations in the beliefs of those before me. That the ties between those foundations and my present beliefs are tenuous can be laid to the impact of intervening history and my reaction to it.

Fortunately for me, I married a man whose work has kept us near university students for thirty years. It is in these young people that I most deeply believe. Their courage, their wisdom, their honestly held spiritual values unrevealed to many of our older generation. Naturally, this is not true of all young people, for they, too, are human. But I have found that this post-war crop of young men and women in particular can show us the way if we will give them a chance.

They show us the way of wisdom as they counter the frustrations of their elders by calmly going about their chosen business of

making families and building homes. They show us the way of courage, as they face the "age of the angry atom" honestly fearing what it may bring, but producing a singularly simple but effective antidote for that fear. They are trying, within the small citadels of their homes, to create and nurture human beings whose minds and hearts will be free from the prejudices and hatred which bring men to war.

Their gamble is confidence that their contemporaries over all of the world, when given a chance, are trying, desperately, to build the same way.

To share courage, and wisdom, and dedication of youth, is to join in its rejection of prejudices, bigotry, half-truths, demagoguery, cheapness and selfishness.

I believe it is my responsibility to keep alive the only atmosphere in which this youth can apply the force of its wisdom and courage — the atmosphere arising from understanding, confidence, and above all, freedom for mind and spirit.

To whatever degree I contribute to that climate, I may perhaps have some small claim to the faith of my fathers.

MURROW: Those were the beliefs of Ruth W. Kingman, civic leader of Berkeley, California. C-Help, Inc. 1954

THIS I BELIEVE

by
Harry L. Kingman and Ruth W. Kingman



THESE statements were prepared for Edward R. Murrow's program "This I Believe", a series of five-minute broadcasts, on which men and women in all walks of life present their personal philosophies. Launched in 1949 by four businessmen who were concerned over the decline of spiritual values, "This I Believe" is run without profit, depending upon anonymous contributions, and is broadcast over 200 U. S. stations, 140 foreign stations, and the Voice of America in six languages. It appears weekly in 90 newspapers. In book form, "This I Believe" is a best-seller in the United States and was also published in Great Britain and in Arabic.



THE CITIZENS' LOBBY FOR FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY

WASHINGTON 24, D. C. AND BERKELEY 7, CALIFORNIA

HARRY L. KINGMAN
RUTH W. KINGMAN

The Capitol Park
800 - 4th Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20004
April 18, 1968

To: WALTER JR. AND PETER HAAS (Senior officials, LEVI STRAUSS CO., San Francisco)

From: HARRY L. KINGMAN

Subject: A NEWSLETTER (Mailed to several hundred individuals and representing a small lobby which, like an ancient Mississippi River steamboat, slows to a stop in order to toot its horn).

Hello, Wally and Pete: our miniscule, penny-ante, windmill-tilting CITIZENS' LOBBY feels that the tide of apathy and low morale that characterized the National Capital during recent months has lifted to a marked degree. The new move by President Johnson towards possible resolution of the Vietnam war, and the unexpected passage of what should prove to be a reasonably potent civil rights bill that includes a significant move toward fair housing are among the developments which brought about the change. Added to these must be the new spirit of understanding and concern that came to the nation from day-long television coverage of the funeral services and Last March with Martin Luther King.

In this newsletter I would like to discuss some of these happenings which may help the nation substantially in struggling its way through the difficult times ahead.

THE 1968 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

When the 1968 session of Congress opened in the middle of January the 1967 House-passed civil rights bill, "to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence and intimidation" - with an added section on fair housing - came to the Senate floor. Aside from Clarence Mitchell, veteran Director of NAACP's Washington Bureau, and his colleagues in the LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS (much respected federation of civil rights and civic organizations totalling millions of members), few thought there was any real chance for passage.

A filibuster started promptly and dragged on week after week. But stubborn and increasingly impressive activity by senators like Phil Hart, Jacob Javits, Edward Brooke and Walter Mondale, along with determined efforts by certain governmental agencies and the LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE began to show results. Two attempts to attain cloture (shut off the filibuster) failed but the pro-civil-rights forces kept narrowing the gap. Then pressure mounted on Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, who had been opposing the open housing amendment to the House-initiated bill.

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, who strongly supported the proposed legislation was becoming increasingly restive as the administration program for the session, for which he was responsible, was being badly delayed. Senator Dirksen did finally decide to accept a somewhat altered open housing amendment, but a cloture attempt failed, nevertheless, for the third time.

Senator Mansfield stated that a fourth opportunity to vote limitation of debate would be the last before he turned to other business; the chances looked gloomy indeed. Even with Dirksen's help it appeared we were approximately five votes short. On March 4th,

after four fifths of the senators had voted, it appeared the final attempt at cloture had failed. But, sensationally and dramatically, the final handful--several of whom had three times previously voted against debate limitation--reversed their positions. The score was 65 to 32; not a single vote more than the two-thirds required for victory. Two of these senators--to my own personal knowledge--saved the bill at the serious risk of losing future re-election. If and when another book titled "Profiles of Courage" is written, this 1968 civil rights struggle will have marked several courageous and self-respecting individuals in Congress as worthy of consideration for inclusion.

IN THE HOUSE

In late March and early April came the almost equally difficult task of gaining acceptance in the House of this heavily-amended and greatly strengthened Senate bill. The frightening problem was that unless the House accepted the exact text of the Senate-passed bill the legislation would have to go to a Senate-House conference; experts testified that in such case the bill would probably again be subjected to Senate filibuster and the gigantic task of winning still another cloture vote.

However, the House Rules Committee, thanks to the switch of a former vote by Republican Congressman John B. Anderson of Illinois--one reason being that he had studied the potent report of the NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS--permitted the Senate bill to come to the House Floor. On April 10th the bill was passed and sent to the White House for the President's signature. The tension and uncertainties of many weeks were ended. This victory alone won't assure the end of further 1968 turbulence in our cities, but it is a step that had to be taken if the complicated struggle against deteriorating racial relations in our nation is to have a reasonable chance of being won.

CLARENCE MITCHELL

The CITIZENS' LOBBY during the past eleven years has tried to play down any undue claims of accomplishment. But naturally, it was pleased to receive an invitation from the White House, on April 11th, to be present on the occasion of the President's signing of the new civil rights bill into law. Clarence Mitchell, local chairman of the LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS wrote a comment on the CITIZENS' LOBBY in which he gave it credit for some key accomplishments, and stated in part, "The Lobby which consists of Harry and Ruth Kingman is not only unique among the vote getters, but it is also one of the most effective ... Harry and Ruth may not meet any of the colored citizens who will get homes because of the federal fair housing law, but when the moving van pulls up it will be their work which helped to make it possible for such tenants or owners to unload their furniture and be assured of occupancy without discrimination based on race."

THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

As I look back on the five increasingly potent civil rights bills enacted by the Congress during the past eleven years--after an 82-year drought--and of our efforts theretofore, I think of some of the lovely people with whom my wonderful wife and I have had the privilege of being associated in the quest. Among them have been professional civil rights workers, members of the Senate, the House, and of the Judicial and Executive branches; individual citizens trying to influence their political representatives by mail, wire and phone from their own homes; industrialists, professors, lawyers, labor officials, religious leaders, and just ordinary people, all trying to work together toward attainment of the good life for all. I envisage many of them as I write these words, and am reminded of Shakespeare's KING HENRY V, in his reference to the ST. CRISPINS DAY battle... "We shall be remembered--we few, we happy few, we band of brothers." Many thanks to you, Wally and Pete, and to many others, for the help and encouragement you have given.

UNPUBLICIZED HELP TO THE PEACE CORPS

Incidentally, Wally, I recall that in 1961 you asked me to see Sarge Shriver, then Director of the Peace Corps, to inform him that, if desired, the LEVI STRAUSS COMPANY would outfit all Peace Corps members with Levis and jackets, free of charge. Shriver expressed interest. Later your father came to Washington and we conferred with Bill Moyers, then with the Peace Corps, to put the offer into effect. From a recent inquiry I was informed that this generous policy, without publicity, is still in operation. I sure commend you and your associates.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

It was on August 28, 1963 that I looked down the Mall from the Lincoln Memorial toward the immense crowd of over 200,000 people. The chief speaker on that memorable occasion was crying out "I HAVE A DREAM". Four and a half years later Martin Luther King's voice was to be silenced by an assassin's bullet. But not until the extraordinary courage, vitality, nobility and inspiration of this man's tenacious and heroic struggle for justice (supported so valiantly by his brave and lovely wife) combined to stamp him as a man for the ages. If mankind still inhabits the globe a thousand years hence I haven't the slightest doubt that the name of this courageous knight will still be honored and cherished to the utmost degree, one of the truly great men of history. And how he's going to be missed during the months and years just ahead. King did and said many memorable things. I was particularly impressed with a few words that he uttered three years ago:

"Deep down in our non-violent creed is the conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true, that they are worth dying for.

"And if a man happens to be 36 years old, as I happen to be, and some great truth stands before the door of his life, some great opportunity to stand up for that which is right and that which is just, and he refuses to stand up because he wants to live a little longer and he is afraid his home will get bombed, or he is afraid that he will lose his job, or he is afraid that he will get shot...he may go on and live until he's 80, and the cessation of breathing in his life is merely the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

"Man dies when he refuses to stand up for that which is right. A man dies when he refuses to take a stand for that which is true. So we are going to stand up right here...letting the world know we are determined to be free."

JOHN KENNEDY AND MRS. KING

In the summer and fall of 1960 Ruth and I had the exciting privilege of campaigning for John F. Kennedy. On his Whistle-Stop Train through the California valleys he, through Ken O'Donnell, asked Ruth to list some campaign suggestions; after he had read the memo a few hours later Kennedy told us that he intended to follow through on them. One of the listed proposals was that he pay special attention to certain individuals in Southern Baptist circles; at the top of the list was Mrs. Martin Luther King. It has been estimated that JFK's very sincere phone call to her, not long thereafter, when her husband was jailed in Atlanta, was held by some commentators to have made the difference between defeat and victory.

More than half of the citizens of the United States are said to have watched and listened in on the television coverage of the King funeral. Surely it was a lastingly inspiring experience for many. Even with all the frightening and ominous developments in today's world, this seems to me to be a most desirable time to be alive. Even as an old timer, I

continue to thank my lucky stars that I'm still around. It was fifty seven years ago that--out of a sense of great need--I began testing the hypothesis that there is an intelligent and loving divine spirit in the universe, which is on the side of love, and truth, and courage, and justice, with which the human spirit can, to a certain degree, commune and hope to mature. This faith in a simple certainty of God has tested out fully over the decades, and has never let me down. Influenced greatly by Ghandi, with whom I corresponded while living in China in the twenties, I feel that Martin Luther King, too, will continue to be truly a plus influence in mankind's snail-paced struggle out of the primeval.

BACK TO PEKING

Though chances don't look good I still have hopes of getting back to Peking some day to talk of the mutual U.S.-China advantages of building bridges of peace between the two peoples, and of avoiding war. China-born myself, my Boston-London ancestry dates the residence of forebears in North China back to 1860. While working with Chinese students under the aegis of the International Committee of the YMCA in Shanghai from 1921 to 1927 I never met the present potent Premier Chou En-lai nor Foreign Minister Chen Yi. But in Peking today such leaders would remember that there was a young American in Shanghai whose efforts at that critical time to advocate and work for the abandonment of the "Unequal Treaties" and for justice for China became dramatically known throughout the country. I still have letters of that era from Chinese patriots stating that my efforts, and the resultant verbal attacks on me by certain foreign residents, would never be forgotten. Despite the fact that I have throughout my life believed the western democratic form of government to have the best potential, and have consistently opposed authoritarian forms whether communist or any other, I think that perhaps I could get a hearing of some sort, someday in Peking; what harm in trying?

THE VIETNAM WAR

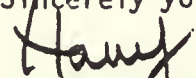
Surely our great nation should not destroy the country and people recorded in history as having been, over the centuries, solely able to stand off expansionist China and other giant adversaries. And, incidentally, why not drop the daily body counts? Who believes the figures, anyhow?

Our lobby reports and my public statements during the past two years have expressed strong conviction that our attempt to bomb North Vietnam and the Viet Cong into acceding to our unnecessary and unrealistic policies would prove too costly in every way, and that they would fail. In a letter which was published in the WASHINGTON POST nearly two years ago I suggested that we accept U.N. Secretary General Thant's offer to work full time with a hundred other nations (technically by-passing the balky Security Council) to draw up a blue print for ending the war, which the United States would feel strongly inclined to accept in basic content. Looking back at the horrors and costs of the past two years, of the loss of life, destruction, bankruptcy, racial turbulence, violence and hatred--should such a suggestion have been waste-basketed by advisors with the mere comment that critics of the war had no alternatives to suggest?

I sincerely commend the President for the new moves that he is making in what I feel to be his genuine longing for peace. I hope that, in addition to his weekly meetings with his regular close advisors, he will again take note of the advice of the Mansfields, Thants, Gavins, Harrimans, Ridgeways, Kennans, McNamaras, Galbraiths and respected experts in the fields of oriental psychology and history who have lived for years in Asia.

Any comment on this so-called "Newsletter" will be appreciated. Some readers may perhaps be reminded of Oscar Wilde's remark "I can believe anything providing it is incredible."

Sincerely yours,


Harry L. Kingman

THE CITIZENS' LOBBY FOR FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY

WASHINGTON 24, D. C. AND BERKELEY 7, CALIFORNIA

HARRY L. KINGMAN
RUTH W. KINGMAN

November 22, 1968

Dear Friend:

The year 1968 has been a reasonably gratifying one for the CITIZENS' LOBBY, and the Kingmans look forward to carrying on our modest efforts as best we can during 1969.

Not that all our endeavors this year have been successful. In September, for example, I flew back to the Capital to try to help during the Senate's fight over the President's nomination of Justice Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It soon became manifest that the filibuster against it could not be defeated so late in the session. However, effort under the floor leadership of the admirable Senator Philip A. Hart of Michigan did maintain a majority for the confirmation of the Fortas nomination and against Senate minority encroachment on a constitutionally independent Judiciary.

In respect to our nation's race relations it has been frequently noted this autumn that the prophesied "Hot Summer" and extreme turbulence nationally did not eventuate. In my opinion one of the major reasons for this was Congress' enactment last spring of an additionally-needed civil rights bill which included a section on fair housing. It was necessary to vote cloture against a filibuster in the Senate after weeks of debate; unexpectedly it was accomplished on the fourth try without a single vote to spare.

The floor manager of this vital accomplishment, which was being watched by our black citizens nationwide, was again, Senator Phil Hart--humanitarian, hard-working, modest, very able--a truly great senator. He scribbled me this note last spring: "Thanks for your kind reference in your Newsletter of April 18th...It makes me do what I've told myself to do for days--ever since the bill became 'the law of the land'. That is to thank you for the patience, encouragement, search for votes, counsel--for your continued concern and understanding. That fourth cloture didn't 'just happen'--it happened because you were at work. Many thanks."

Solely because of gifts from friends toward a portion of the cost, have Ruth and I been able to carry on our project during the past twelve years. In 1968 these contributions totalled \$5374.50. Those wishing to help the CITIZENS' LOBBY during 1969 can mail their gifts to the Treasurer of our Sponsoring Committee, the distinguished industrialist, Daniel E. Koshland, at 98 Battery St., San Francisco, California 94106.

Sincerely yours,



SPONSORING COMMITTEE

Daniel E. Koshland (Treasurer)
Lucile W. H. Koshland
Lois C. Hogle
Clark Kerr

C. L. Dellums
J. Clayton Orr
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Mas Yonemura

Walter A. Haas, Jr.
Edward Rutledge
George H. Hogle
William A. Coblentz

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William A. Coblentz

Dear John,

The sole chance that student co-ops like the one at the University of California have to meet the needs of fast-growing student bodies lies in help ^{unmet housing} ~~collage~~ ^{seems to me to be} passage of the Rains Bill. Please stand by to give it any help you can.

If the House approves a bill which enables student co-ops to benefit from low interest federal loans ~~it should~~ the item should have a good chance ^{to survive} when it goes to House-Senate conference. I have been doing some work on the Senate side and ~~have received encouraging support~~ have reason to believe there will be ~~some~~ support ~~from~~ for the student co-ops from some of ~~those~~ those who are likely to be among the Senate conferees.

Sincerely yours,

HLK

The Honorable ✓ John F. Baldwin ✓
 ✓ John E. Moss ✓
 ✓ William S. Maillard ✓
~~Jefferson~~
 ✓ George P. Miller
 ✓ B.F. Sisk
 ✓ Chet Halifield
 ✓ D.S. Saund
 ✓ Thomas S. Ashley
 ✓ Martha W. Griffiths
 ✓ Leonor K. Sullivan
 ✓ John F. Shelley
 ✓ Stewart L. Udall
 Harold T. Johnson

Bill Maillard ✓
 George ✓
 Bernie ✓
 Chet ✓
 Judge ✓
 Tom Ashley ✓
 Martha Griffiths ✓
 Mrs. Sullivan
 Jack ✓
 Stewart ✓
 Bizz

Monday 6/23

Secure copies of new Senate housing act. Mail copy to North

6/24

Shelley-re-co-op

Senator Case says he voted vs. co-op amendment. Was told some co-ops had proven to be "agin the gvt"--dissidents--is not strongly opposed, & likes what I told him about USCA. Says B&C Com. has been liberalizing--witness new loans for college buildings, but it cant go too fast. Advises text revision to secure co-op loans by obtaining good offices of the college administration

Chet Holifield favorable--his wife says their daughters lived in UCLA co-op.

6/25

Senator Douglas pleased to hear Kuchel will join him in floor effort to restore amendment. "Any revision TK and you agree on is satisfactory to me".

Frank McCulloch thinks housing attys should be able to improve the wording so as to remove some of the objection of the Republicans. Suggests that Kuchel approach Capehart in behalf of Cal co-ops.

Wally Campbell--phone him as he suggested. Is in NY.

6/26

Phone Campbell. Has not yet had opportunity to secure advice. Inform him of Hagen's urging that letters be stimulated. Said he would communicate with co-op office in Chi.

6/27

A senator's assistant shows me correspondence on the issue. Informs me confidentially of opposition (from Cal & UCLA) officials. Former says "hopes amendment will be kept out"--USCA does not conform to University regulations--would cut down on funds available to adminst.

Also, Hazelton of Home Loan & Housing Agency "strongly opposes--if included would recommend president's veto.

Sen. Monroney-- favors the amendment. Makes inquiries of housing office re "Fanny May" loan possibilities. Finds they would cost about 75% as compared with 23%.

Says Dwight Townsend, special asst for co-op housing (FHA) at 811 Vermont Ave., might have helpful suggestions to make.

6/28

Harlan Hagen has already filed as sponsor of the amendment in House. Suggests my getting other signators.

D.S. Saund willing to sponsor. Also Jack McFall. John Baldwin, Chet Holifield.


See from Phil. Advice to cancel 7/3 review.

by Edward P. Morgan
 Photographs by Bob Phillips

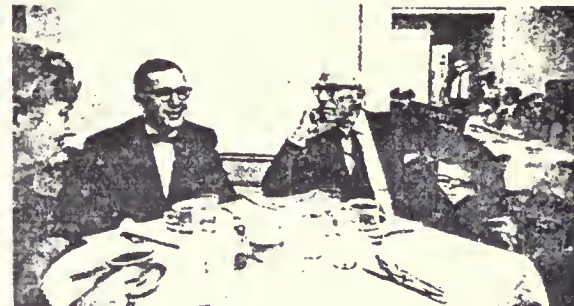
the *Kingmans'* LOBBY HOBBY

■ IT BEGINS TO LOOK as if the crusading Mr. Smith of that memorable movie "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" never really reached the nation's capital. Congress is a briar patch of interest conflicts on whose thorns progressive legislation seems forever snagged. Capitol cloakrooms creak with the senile seniority of committee chairmen as unaccomplishment is piled upon unaccomplishment. A Senate committee has dipped a probing finger into the influence-peddling pool of foreign government agents while more urgent matters languish and professional observers of the national scene write books warning that the American political system is being stifled by its own inner pressures.

But all, of course, is not quite lost. And one refreshing reason is that there still is a hard core of decency and dedication in a large number of Americans who retain a stubborn faith in the system and know that its faults can be curbed, its advantages enhanced through the vigilance of thoughtful citizens. Furthermore, this minority group, whether it realizes it or not, is ably represented in Washington. The mythical Mr. Smith might not survive in the harsh, bruising atmosphere of political reality; his brave ideals might be lost in an endless and uninspiring game of pragmatism called the art of the possible. Might be, that is, if it weren't for the king-size determination of a remarkable couple



FIRST THING every morning, Harry and Ruth Kingman, of the Citizen's Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play, check a Washington newspaper for news of the day's committee hearings. They began their lobbying activities after Harry retired as secretary of Stilas Hall at Berkeley.

LOBBY HOBBY, *Continued*

CONGRESSMAN JEFFERY COHELAN '50, of California's seventh district meets Harry and Ruth during a coffee break.



SENATOR THOMAS H. KUCHEL confers with the Kingmans in the reception room that is located just off the Senate floor.

AN EARLY APPOINTMENT for the day is with California's Senator Clair Engle '31 who discusses some impending legislation with the Kingmans.

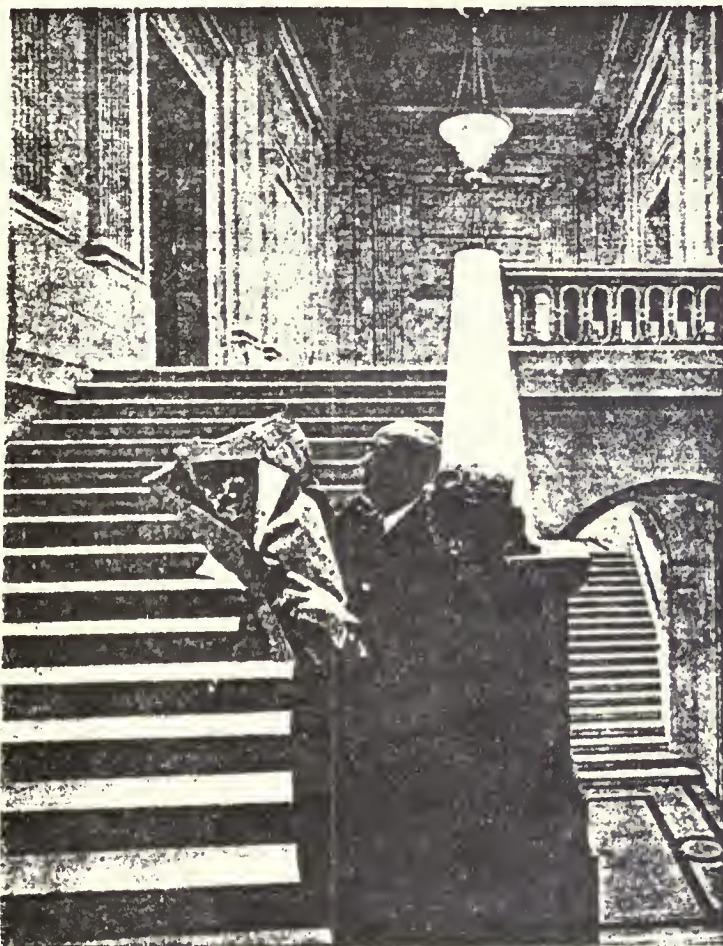
named Kingman. Harry and Ruth Kingman are a pressure group. They are the director, associate director and entire staff of the Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play. Their "sell" is one of the softest and one of the most persuasive in a town worn to the edge of cynicism by the self-seeking activities of some 6,000 registered lobbyists, who, with the influential accent that high salaries and generous expense accounts can produce, are eternally asking what their country's government can do for them, or their clients.

Long before President Kennedy had uttered his historic admonition to Americans on the occasion of his inaugural, the Kingmans had asked themselves what they could do for their fellow countrymen and their answer was to pinch the pennies of their pension and move to Washington as baby-sitters, so to speak, for those too-often-orphaned bills

in the public interest such as civil rights and good government.

The tall, deceptively mild-mannered, 71-year-old Kingman and his stunning, sparkling-eyed artist-wife, nine years his junior, are the answer to the thoughtful but frustrated voter's perennial question, "Sure, I'm concerned about government but what can I do about it?"

The Kingmans have been doing something specific about it for seven years. An American missionary's son, born in China, an erstwhile New York Yankees pitcher, University of California baseball coach and secretary (for 40 years) of Stiles Hall, off-campus University YMCA in Berkeley, Kingman took his savings, his pension and his wife to Washington in 1957 to try their hands at lobbying. From boyhood he had been convinced that "participation in government by ordinary Americans is not only possible



ON A LANDING of a stairway in the old Senate Office Building, Harry and Ruth recheck their day's schedule of committee meetings.

but essential." Setting themselves a total budget of \$8,300 a year for their own living as well as the lobby, the Kingmans rented a one-room apartment overlooking the Capitol and got to work.

Almost immediately they moved into the thick of the fight over civil rights legislation. They did humble chores for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. They made phone calls, helped distribute literature, button-holed senators and congressmen of both parties for crucial votes and finally found they'd had a hand in passage of the first civil rights act in 82 years.

The Kingmans have a liberal's fervor for the "public interest" which they pour into friendly persuasion. They have battled bills to emasculate the Supreme Court, entrenched private interests or raid natural resources and, as firm believers in the two-party system, they are just as

interested in working for a worldly Republican as in working against a meanly provincial Democrat. They campaigned quietly but hard and effectively for John F. Kennedy in 1960 and for the reelection of the assistant Republican leader of the Senate, California's Thomas Kuchel, in 1962. In the presidential campaign, Kingman worked chiefly in the civil rights division of the Kennedy organization and Ruth concentrated on the religious problem, mostly in California. She had been a state leader for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and, like the salesman in "The Music Man," she knew the territory. She was, in fact, credited with converting a distinguished but doubting Protestant clergyman to the Kennedy Camp.

In these political campaigns, as in their labors with the Citizens Lobby, the Kingmans work as fulltime volunteers, drawing salaries from nobody. Harry's YMCA pension and Social Security checks total about \$5,600 a year. A sponsoring committee, headed by Daniel E. Koshland, '13, San Francisco industrialist and philanthropist, raises funds to help bridge the gap. These gifts for the first year amounted to about \$2,000. But the Kingmans have had to dip into savings from the start to make ends meet. Donations increased to \$3,653 in 1962 but expenses jumped by \$1,000, too, when they gave up their one-room efficiency and leased a year-round apartment in Washington, where the chief cook and bottle washer had a kitchen to prepare her modestly famous buffet suppers instead of the original hot plate perched perilously close to the lap of the guest of honor—a Negro attorney, a senator, a cabinet member or even, sometimes, a practicing journalist.

But Harry Kingman guards with almost fanatical care his clearance from conflict of interest. Dear to the Kingman's hearts, as is the cause of civil rights, and needy as they were for funds, they turned back in 1960 a gift of \$500 from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "... We are convinced," Kingman wrote with mingled regret and effusive thanks to Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, "we would lose some of our influence, based on our somewhat unique independence of action, were we to accept gifts from any legislatively active organization..." Earlier, Kingman had said, "Our project operates on a financial shoestring and I hope that it always will."

He believes, in fact, that this is a decisive advantage for the Lobby. Because they have paid their own way and had no fancy expense account (salaries and expenses of Washington's lobby industry exceed \$4 million a year), the Kingmans have found easier access to members of Congress and other officials. Their contacts are disarmed by the Kingman sincerity into believing they really do have no ax to grind except the public's.

The Kingmans are, plainly and touchingly, a mutual admiration society. Kingman likens his wife to Eleanor Roosevelt in her friendliness and compassion, particularly toward racial minorities. "Invariably," he once wrote a friend, "when I watch my wife talking to clerks in stores, to cab drivers, to ordinary people everywhere, I witness



IT TAKES A LOT OF WALKING to cover the Washington beat Ruth and Harry have cut out for themselves. Above, they enter the Senate side of the Capitol. The Supreme Court Building is seen behind them.

the automatic lighting up of their faces and their relaxed smiles as they respond to a rare blithe spirit."

Ruth Kingman had trained to become a singer but in 1922 she went to Shanghai to marry Kingman, whom she had met while she was a sophomore at Cal. Her rich contralto voice was in demand in the Treaty ports but she traded the concert stage for politics and social work. She coached the China women's volley ball team for the 1923 Far Eastern Olympics, produced oratorios in Tientsin.

In China in 1925, Kingman was so upset by the distorted versions of an incident in which protesting Chinese students were shot by British-controlled police that he started a news letter. His regular readers included such world figures as Idaho's isolationist Senator Borah, Britain's Ramsey McDonald and India's Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Kingman continues to develop contacts, personally and by letters and memos, with key people in and out of government. The list of VIPs in his private telephone book would be the envy of any Washington correspondent. One of his close and admired friends in Washington is Defense Secretary Robert McNamara who was an undergraduate at California when Kingman ran the Y. But the Kingmans don't use these friendships as society status symbols. They use them, decorously, to promote human understanding. Kingman has written high White House aides—who are his personal friends—urging the search for a Negro to qualify as an astronaut, the selection of a Negro for the Supreme Court. He will buttonhole a Congressman before breakfast or after the late show for a vote to enhance the public weal. A rare combination of sensitivity, patience,

and a fierce ardor for those misused items called truth and justice has made Harry a remarkably effective lobbyist and a hero in his wife's eyes. But not only in hers.

In the poisonous aftermath of McCarthyism, an official, who had been Kingman's right hand man in the administering of fair employment practices on the west coast during the war, was suspended from federal service on false charges under the government's security program. From Berkeley Kingman urged him to demand a hearing and Kingman went to New York at his own expense to testify on the accused's behalf. After four days of hearings the man was cleared and given six months back pay. He now is pursuing a distinguished career in state government. On Kingman's 70th birthday in 1962 he received the following telegram from this friend:

"Three score and ten years ago, the best and most courageous poker player, Yankee pitcher, pinball artist, preacher, pipe exploder, conciliator, civil liberties exponent, YMCA, FEPC, civil rights lobby director, husband, father and grandfather . . . and protector and savior (of undersigned) was born. Amen. I love that man and adore his wife. Happy 70th birthday, Harry. Long live Ruth and Harry."

In November, 1962, in appealing to friends to contribute to the Kingman Lobby, a San Francisco lawyer recalled how courageously both Harry and Ruth had fought for the constitutional rights of loyal Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor. "On December 14th," he wrote, "Harry Kingman, who had known many Nisei at the University of California, appeared on radio to appeal for fair play for an American minority endangered by war hysteria. He stated that these people 'are as American in their hopes, attitudes and loyalties as any of us,' and said that eventually they would 'prove their loyalty to this nation.' As Kingman spoke, phone calls reached the radio station, unavailingly, insisting that the speaker be cut off the air."

The letter was signed by Mas Yonemura, an American of Japanese ancestry, one of thousands of Nisei citizens whom the Kingmans' compassion and burning sense of justice had helped—an assistance they volunteered though they knew it would bring their own loyalty under attack—as it did—in the hysteria of the moment.

It is quite possible that nobody will raise a monument to honor Ruth and Harry Kingman or their Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play. One is not needed. The Lobby is a moving monument unto itself in the momentum it has created in the direction of human decency. As for a more tangible reminder of the Kingmans' humanity, one already exists in Berkeley: Stiles Hall, the student YMCA, which under Kingman's leadership, won—and still holds—national recognition for support of free speech, equal opportunity and all the other basic civil rights and liberties without which a free society would quickly perish. Vital as they are, it is more than a mildly ironic paradox that we might trample these rights beyond repair—such is the cursedness of human beings—but for the vigilance and the shining selflessness of people like Harry and Ruth Kingman. ◀

BY BEN BRADLEE

Washington's unique "Mr. and Mrs." lobby



Not money or power,
but truth and justice are
their weapons as
they fight for fair play

SOME 5,000 REGISTERED lobbyists work the influence beat in Washington, D. C., softly selling their special interests by gently bending official ears. Testifying openly before the committees of Congress, or working quietly in the corridors and offices of the Capitol, they represent one of Washington's major industries—more than \$4,000,000 in salaries and expenses last year.

There is a uniformity about most of these lobbyists, whether they represent the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the National Association of Manufacturers or the pearl divers of Japan; they are trained men, who promote their special interests with big expense accounts and fat briefs, thoroughly researched by large staffs.

But two registered lobbyists are so different from their fellow persuaders that they stand virtually alone. They are Harry and Ruth Kingman, director, associate direc-

Reprinted from CORONET, July, 1961
Written by Benjamin Bradlee,
Chief, NEWSWEEK'S Washington Bureau.

tor—and total staff—of The Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play; "retired" now after careers in social work to become the only full-time volunteer husband-and-wife lobbying team in Washington.

They are unique for several reasons. For one they are without real power, representing only themselves. "We can't scare anyone," they say.

They are without funds more often than not, operating on an annual budget of only \$8,600—for living and lobbying—so carefully allocated that a \$22 telephone bill can force them to dip into their small savings account. They are so jealous of their own independence, however, that they turn down financial contributions even from organizations which are active legislatively and whose aims they support. They do accept about \$2,000 annually—without strings—from a small group of San Francisco businessmen headed by industrialist Daniel E. Koshland.

They are nonpartisan, registered Democrats who worked hard for the election of President Kennedy and consider him the "number one American" today. Republican Chief Justice Earl Warren also ranks high with the Kingmans.

They don't like to talk about their impressive accomplishments:

—on Alaskan statehood . . . "After statehood was killed in a preliminary vote (in the House of Representatives), Harry Kingman worked all day rounding up absent members to reverse the vote," says Rep. John F. Shelley of California. "The vote was reversed, and Harry can take a lot of the credit."

—on student cooperative housing . . . "the college student cooperative housing program was signed into law [1959] mostly because of Harry Kingman's persistent buttonholing of key legislators over a two-year period," says Congressman John F. McFall of California.

—in the field of Civil Rights . . . "No one worked harder, more faithfully or more effectively in the fight for Civil Rights legislation than Harry and Ruth Kingman," says Clarence Mitchell, director of the N.A.A.C.P.'s Washington Bureau.

Harry Kingman is a tall, lanky, soft-spoken man of 69, with white in his hair and compassion in his face. He still moves with the grace of the athlete he once was—a rookie pitcher for the New York Yankees in 1914 and 1915. Kingman likes to refer to himself as the "world's only one-day Senator," since he was signed up by the Washington Senators, then traded to the Yankees the day he reported for duty.

Harry Kingman is a master of the soft sell, reflecting the views of his China-missionary father. He still reads excerpts from his father's sermons every day. "Don't let enthusiasm and zeal lead you to exaggerate," Kingman senior once wrote his son. "Prune your best passages severely, so that men won't feel you are putting it on thick, but that you have reserves of truth behind." The advice was given before Harry Kingman chose a career, but 50 years later he can still recite it by heart and has made it a golden rule of his lobbying.

Ruth Kingman, his wife, is a trim and exuberant 60, with gray-white hair, sparkling gray-blue eyes and a quick smile. She obviously relishes lobbying, the newest of her many careers. She was a near concert contralto until she went to China in 1922 to marry (Kingman was born there and lived there on and off until he was 35). In Shanghai she coached athletics, in Tientsin she produced oratorios. Her organizational work includes the League of Women Voters and the Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play in behalf of loyal Nisei during World War II, in both of which she held high office.

Mrs. Kingman studies painting, makes all her own clothes (she made her own Inaugural Ball gown for \$11.99) and spends at least half of each day on Capitol Hill. "I'm just the stenographer," she says of her role in The Citizens' Lobby, but her husband says, "Ruth deserves at least 51 percent of any credit we get," and many Congressmen agree.

The Kingmans started as a lobbying team, almost timidly, in 1957, the day after Harry retired as direc-

tor of the University of California's Y.M.C.A., Stiles Hall, nationally known for its support of free speech, equal opportunity and conciliatory solving of controversial issues.

All his life Harry Kingman has been convinced that "participation in government by ordinary Americans is not only possible, but essential." Even from China in the '20s, he was telling his ideas to influential men. When he returned to America in 1927, he rushed to Washington to discuss U.S. China policy with the late Senator William E. Borah. Whenever he came east from California, he headed for Capitol Hill "to put in my two bits worth, because I figure no one is going to know how I feel unless I tell him."

So, as retirement approached, the Kingmans determined to try lobbying for one session of Congress. "We could have lobbied in Sacramento," he says. "We used to. But I always liked the big leagues best. That's where they play the best ball."

For money, they had their Y.M.C.A. pensions and Harry's social security checks, totaling \$5,600 a year. This was not enough for a separate office, so they rented a one-room efficiency apartment that has served as their office and home ever since.

For goals, they had their conviction that all men are created equal and "our hope that we could make them more equal." Within a week this conviction had plunged them deep into the fight to pass the first major Civil Rights legislation since the Reconstruction Era.

CIVIL RIGHTS WAS—and still is—a tailor-made target for Harry Kingman's "secret weapon"—genuine respect for the beliefs of others. Yet, while believing in racial equality as completely as he believes in sunrise, Harry Kingman is able to describe the die-hard opponents of Civil Rights with real respect as "the venerable Howard Smith, the highly competent Edwin Willis and the well-liked William Colmer." One of the "weaknesses in the Washington atmosphere," Kingman says, "is the lack of charitable feelings. To hear people talk, you'd suppose that everyone on the other side was a phony or a crook, and most of the votes they didn't like were due to 'deals' of some kind. I believe that a great deal of this is not only unjust, but divisive and harmful."

How successful were the Kingmans in their lobbying debut? The figures belie their modesty. After hundreds of persuasive telephone calls, and a score of all-night strategy sessions, the Kingmans' assignment

from the managers of the Civil Rights battle boiled down to this: get as many as possible of the 41 West Coast Congressmen to vote for the bill. The final Pacific Coast tally: 40 for, one against.

What is the Kingman technique? Rep. John McFall once described it admiringly in connection with their fight to get low-interest Government loans for student cooperative housing. "They worked with a vengeance," he said. "They were often waiting at the door when Congressmen came to work, and as likely as not they would still be making the rounds when close-up time came late at night."

Even so, they don't always win. "In February 1960, we tried to get enough signatures to discharge the Civil Rights bill from the House Rules Committee. We got exactly no place," Kingman says. Their first project for 1961 was to persuade Congressmen to back House Speaker Sam Rayburn's plan to curb the power of this same Rules Committee. "We personally met with considerable lack of success," Harry Kingman admits.

Once Kingman actually wrote the minority report for a committee of Congress at the request of a Congressman. If it wasn't the first time a Congressman asked a lobbyist to write a report, it was certainly the first time both men boasted about it. The Congressman was John Shelley, known for the richness of his vocabulary, and the committee was a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. Early one morning, Kingman dropped by Shelley's office.

"Listen," the excited Congressman shouted to him, "the %!!#& Appropriations subcommittee is going to file a !!%&# report, criticizing the Supreme Court. You sit down at this !!%&# typewriter and write a %!!#& minority report for me giving them hell."

Kingman was delighted, and instantly started pecking out the strangest minority report in the history of Congress. Liberally sprinkled with Shelley's choicest expletives, it concluded: "My motion is to strike the !!%&# criticism of the Court from the !!%&# report of the %!!#& subcommittee."

When Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn got wind of the unconventional report, he called Shelley into his office for an explanation. Shelley read Kingman's document aloud, and before he was through, the Speaker was in tears of laughter and asking for a copy. "By the way," Rayburn concluded, "you won't have to submit it. The attack on the

court will be stricken from the majority report."


Shelley is so appreciative of Kingman's efforts that he assists the San Francisco committee which raises partial expenses for the Kingmans. "They are two unassuming and friendly people," he wrote recently, "who have gambled their lives that America can do better, and won."

Instead of resting in the Berkeley, California, hills after Congress adjourned last summer, the Kingmans threw themselves into the Presidential campaign. Only a few months from his 69th birthday, Kingman supported Kennedy, "because we were sick of having men who are old in their attitudes betray the dreams of the young." Robbing their savings account of a substantial sum, the young-in-heart Kingmans stumped California for the new President. "We had an exciting time," he says, "even if California did end up in Nixon's column." But

Alameda County, where the Kingmans worked the hardest, went for Kennedy by over 33,000 votes. Kenneth O'Donnell, President Kennedy's special assistant, has thanked them for their "good work."

Back in Washington for their fifth year of lobbying, the Kingmans have a pet project for 1961: building a "Do-it-yourself" division for those in sympathy with the causes of their Citizens' Lobby for Freedom and Fair Play. "Hundreds of people come to Washington every year as tourists, who would make good lobbyists, particularly with Congressmen and Senators from their home state. The trouble has been that they don't know how to go about it," Harry Kingman explains.

For the Kingmans, lobbying has "been a ball." In a letter to their daughter, they put it this way: "There is something good about being near the great debates and the great decisions. Whether we have any impact on any of it or not, there is here recognition of our right as citizens to speak our piece, and even to be heard from time to time."

Says a man who has heard from the Kingmans regularly over the years, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois: "It's nice to know there are still some true Christians left around here." 

"Reprinted from
CORONET, July, 1961.
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TO: Hon O'Donnell
FROM: Ruth W. Kingman
SUBJECT: Religious Issue in the Campaign

It has been our observation that the religious issue in the campaign is being emphasized in differing degrees at several levels; among them are:

- 1) Northern Protestant churches, largely of the conservative branches of each major (evangelical) denomination; Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and minor sects, served by seminary trained clergy.
- 2) Southern churches, with "white" memberships, served by less well educated clergy.
- 3) Northern churches, with Negro memberships, served, some by seminary trained clergy, some by clergy less well trained.
- 4) Southern (and some northern) churches with Negro memberships, served largely, but not wholly, by even less well prepared clergy. These ministers are less well disciplined, and are thus more readily subject to negative pressures.
- 5) Southern churches, largely in urban areas, where Negro pastors are well trained and deeply respected by both Southern Negro and Northern non-Negro clergy and church members.

At the present time, it appears that the Criswell-Peale-Graham-Pollard-Dowell attack on a Catholic as President may backfire, and an all out crash counterattack may be unnecessary. This is, of course, a political decision to be made at the highest level of the campaign.

If such a counterattack is made, it should obviously be made on a non-partisan basis, and based squarely and solely on Constitutional and moral grounds. This would not, of course, preclude wide use of comprehensive, highly 'quotable quotes' from Senator Kennedy.

In addition to these quotes, the following might be considered:

- 1) Secure strong statements from clerical and lay leaders in each area, (areas as described above) such statements to be used as follows:
 - a) Published in the press in the areas involved;
 - b) Published in the National publications emanating from the denominations represented;
 - c) Where possible, have statements reproduced in Sunday bulletins printed and distributed at most urban churches.
 - d) Have throw-aways (newsprint) of the statements distributed to

churches without such bulletins, or outside churches whose pastors are reluctant to distribute them otherwise.

2. TV and Radio appearances of such persons as Harry Emerson Fosdick, for 25 years the recognized Pulpit Pastor of the great majority of America's Protestants; Bishops Cram, Tippet and Kennedy (Methodist), Pike (Episcopal), Dr. Vere Loper, former National Moderator of the Congregational Church; R. Niebuhr and John Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; other recognized national leaders who speak for liberal Protestantism. Brooks Hayes should be used, where advisable, and Eugene Barnett, formerly General Secretary of the American YMCA Movement.
3. Special efforts should be made to enlist the aid of Negro ministers, both in the North and in the South. Particularly in the South, but in the North as well, Negro parishioners traditionally look to their pastors for guidance in all areas of living. This influence should not be underestimated, as these ministers are the key to the political attitudes of their "flocks". It is suggested that the following procedures be considered:
 - a) Statements be secured from leaders in Negro Theological schools in the South, and distributed widely, as recommended for churches in the North.
 - b) The following leaders (among others) should be asked for statements: Martin Luther King, Jackson, Roy Wilkins, Odom (Religious Sec'y of Nat'l NAACP), other well known (in rural South) Negro leaders, both clergy and laymen.

n.b. If these men are reluctant to have their names used, and some are, efforts should be made to enlist public support from their wives, many of whom feel free to speak, and do so with the approval of their husbands.

The entire undertaking should be carefully constructed, directing statements and leadership from the appropriate persons and areas, to their opposite numbers re geography, education, economic background and general sophistication.

From Ruth Kingman

535 San Luis Rd.,
Berkeley 7, Calif.
September 8, 1960

Harry L. Kingman
Ruth W. Kingman

535 San Luis Road,
Berkeley 7, California.
September 4, 1961

The Honorable Nikita Krushchev,
The Kremlin,
Moscow, USSR.

Dear Premier Krushchev:

In view of the fact that I saw you in action during your San Francisco visit, and that I liked what you said and did at the time, I am taking the liberty of appealing to you to meet us half way in negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the world situations which have brought us all to the horrible verge of mutual destruction.

I have lived a long and full and rich life, and have little more to ask of it except that I want my lovely daughter and my beloved grandchildren to have a similar opportunity. I am sure that you feel the same way about yours.

Our two nations are both proud and self-respecting, and, of course, will fight rather than be demeaned. But it is not necessary that either should have its nose rubbed in the dirt.

Many, many Americans feel as I do. It is true, of course, that we have some truculent and warlike individuals, some fanatics, some extremely evil people, just as does Soviet Russia. They are but a tiny minority, however, and can be held in check. It has appeared to me that both you and President Kennedy have sought to do this.

You have become one of the most illustrious leaders of modern times, and your nation has made extraordinary progress. As an athletic coach for many years, I have marvelled at the quickness, for example, with which young Russians have mastered sports which were relatively new to them. I was pleased last week to read of a new record by high jumper Brunel. Your nation's remarkable exploits in space are recognized and widely lauded. The courage, dignity and distinction of your country--as with ours--have become so well proven and accepted that neither needs fear loss of face because it acts magnanimously and with self-restraint.

History reveals that a nation's adversaries in a war may be its friends within a decade or two, and vice versa. I am convinced that if our two countries can get through the next few years without the unleashing of bombs and missiles, we can again move toward close friendship. To make this possible, it is necessary to move promptly in the field of disarmament, the end of nuclear testing,

-2-

the termination of dangers to peace such as those in Germany, the strengthening of a mutual determination that there must be no war.

You and President Kennedy are becoming the most powerful national leaders that have ever lived. I speak only for myself, but from what I read and hear of Mr. Kennedy's attitudes and hopes, and his courteous personal relations with you in Vienna and at all times, I judge that he regards you--despite the controversial problems--somewhat as I do.

I know Mr. Kennedy only slightly, and cannot speak for him at all. But I have friends who know him well. They believe that he will become one of the most distinguished of American presidents. He is a tough but fair competitor, has a brilliant mind, is imperturbable in times of crisis, has proven his superlative courage, and is a man of basic integrity. Our national polls indicate that his popularity with the American people is rising to almost unprecedented heights.

It is encouraging and understandable that you two exceptional leaders tend to like and respect each other. As one small indication of this, I note that the little dog, Pushinka, that you thoughtfully sent to the White House, is held in esteem and affection by Caroline and her father. I think this has pleased you. Doubtless some would consider grandchildren and household pets as relatively unimportant as related to war and peace, but I don't, and probably you don't either. My whole life on this earth has been a joyous one. If we can avoid the nuclear holocaust, and move rapidly and magnanimously towards the establishment of justice and the rule of law, then every individual, someday, can hope to attain similar deep satisfaction in living. Nuclear war would end this hope. I hope and believe that you agree.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Kingman

P.S. In order that you may understand the background from which I write, I enclose a copy of an article appearing in the CORONET Magazine of July, 1961.

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Rosemary Levenson

Grew up in England; B.A. in History from Cambridge University, 1948. Graduate work in History and International Law at Cambridge and Radcliffe. M.A. in Sociology at the University of California Berkeley in 1969.

Moved to Berkeley in 1951 and worked as free-lance editor and anthropological photographer. Volunteer service in groups related to the public schools, religion, and University of California faculty wives.

Travel in Europe and the Far East. Joined the staff of the Regional Oral History Office in 1970.

